

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO THE  
CONDUCTORS  
OF THE

PARIS JOURNALS.

*On the Prosecution now carrying on by the Whig Ministry of England against Mr. COBBETT.*

Kensington, May 2, 1831.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN you first heard of the above prosecution you were *surprised*, and one or more of you observed, that you should *narrowly watch the progress of it*; for that it appeared to be a "very *curious thing*, that a REFORMING Ministry should endeavour to crush *the most able supporter of the cause of Reform.*" How I laughed, and how my readers laughed, when we read this! How little, alas! do you know of this "*reforming Ministry!*" If I were at Paris for a couple of days, and had you all assembled together for three hours in each day, and you could understand *English* (for in no other language could justice, nor half justice, be done to the subject), I would give you matter for laughter for the rest of your lives, by describing to you the *motives*, the *real conduct*, and the present *cruel dilemma*, of this "*reforming Ministry.*" According to our laws and usages, a man by whom a woman is *in the family way* (*enceinte*) is, in certain cases, *compelled to marry her*, and then he is said *to be led to the church in a halter*. Yet he, when in the church, promises and vows that he will *love and cherish the bride* to the end of their days! Just such a marriage is now taking place between the Whig-Ministry and Reform; *I have very kindly furnished the halter* for the happy occasion: and they are showing their *gratitude* by this prosecution, which will now no longer appear to you so very *surprising!*

AUX  
EDITEURS  
DES

JOURNAUX DE PARIS.

*Sur le Procès intenté par le Ministère Whig d'Angleterre contre Mr. COBBETT.*

Kensington, le 2 Mai, 1831.

MESSIEURS,

VOTRE surprise fut grande, lorsque vous entendîtes parler du susdit procès. Quelques-uns d'entre vous promirent *d'en suivre attentivement le cours*, considérant comme une chose très remarquable qu'un Ministère REFORMATEUR cherchât à écraser *le plus habile défenseur de la cause de la Réforme*. En lisant cet article, mes lecteurs et moi ne pûmes nous empêcher de rire de bon cœur. Qu'ils connaissent peu, disions-nous, ce *Ministère réformateur!* Si j'étais à Paris pour un couple de jours seulement; si je pouvais vous rassembler tous auprès de moi pendant trois heures seulement par jour, et me faire comprendre de vous *en Anglais* (car je ne saurais le faire, même en partie, d'une manière satisfaisante, dans aucune autre langue) je vous fournirais matière à rire pour le reste de vos jours, en vous expliquant *les motifs, la conduite réelle* de ce Ministère réformateur, et *le cruel dilemme* dans lequel il s'est plongé. D'après les lois et les coutumes de ce pays-ci, un homme qui fait un enfant à une femme *est presque toujours forcé de l'épouser*, et c'est ce qu'on appelle *être conduit à l'autel la corde au cou*. Cependant, arrivé à l'église, cet homme n'en contracte pas moins l'obligation d'aimer et de chérir cette femme jusqu'à sa dernière heure. Or voilà précisément le genre de mariage qui a lieu aujourd'hui entre le Ministère Whig et la Réforme: *c'est moi qui, dans cette circonstance heureuse, ai eu la bonté de fournir la corde*, et le Ministère témoigne sa

The trial will take place, at the Guildhall of the city of London, on the 11th, 12th, or 13th of this month. It is, though the person prosecuted is a private individual, *a really important matter*. It is not at all a question of *libel or no libel*; but, a *question of motives of this ministry*; a *question of character with them*; a question that may affect the durability of their power, and, perhaps, affect also the result of their present struggle against their political opponents. I will take care that you shall have a full account of all that shall take place at this trial, which, before it be done with, will throw great light upon the state in which we are as to political parties and their views. In the meanwhile I beg you not to be deceived by the puffs in our newspapers about this "*liberal*" ministry. They are the mere instruments, *against their will*, of a measure that must, *in the end*, give us real liberty of the press; but they are the very greatest enemies of that liberty, the most bitter and malignant enemies of it, that the country has known for many years. Pray be not amused with *names*. Do not believe that Lord BROUGHAM is the *friend* of the liberty of the press, when you see him endeavouring to *destroy* it. Do not believe this, though half a score bribed newspapers say it. Judge of the man by *his acts*. The ATTORNEY GENERAL is, observe, only *a mere instrument in the hands of Brougham and his brother Minister*.

You will not see the MORNING CHRONICLE, that "*liberal*" journal, find fault with *this* prosecution; nay, you need not be much surprised, if you see it endeavour to *defend* it! This paper is now devoted to *Brougham*, and would gladly lend its hand to *reduce me to silence*. I pray you to have your eye

gratitude en me soumettant à des poursuites judiciaires, ce qui mettra probablement un terme à votre surprise.

La cause s'ouvrira, dans la maison commune (*Guildhall*) de la cité de Londres, le 11, le 12 ou le 13 du présent mois. C'est un sujet d'une assez grande importance, quoiqu'il n'ait rapport qu'à un simple individu; car il ne s'agit pas de *libelle* ou de non-libelle; mais bien d'une question qui fera connaître les motifs qui animent les ministres, et développera leur caractère; il s'agit, dis-je, d'une question qui pourra affecter la durée de leur pouvoir, peut-être même le résultat de la lutte qui existe entre eux et leurs adversaires politiques. J'aurai soin de vous tenir au courant de tout ce qui se passera pendant les débats, et je ne doute nullement qu'avant que la question soit décidée, ils ne répandent une grande lumière sur l'état actuel de nos parties politiques et de leurs vues respectives. En attendant je vous prie de ne pas vous laisser séduire par les *éloges flatteurs de nos journaux* en faveur de notre ministère libéral. Les ministres ne sont, *malgré eux*, que les instruments passifs d'une mesure qui *doit finir* par amener la vraie liberté de la presse; et ils sont les ennemis les plus violents, les plus acharnés de cette même liberté, que ce pays-ci ait eu depuis bien des années. Ne vous laissez pas surtout par de vains noms. N'allez pas croire que Lord BROUGHAM, par exemple, soit partisan de la liberté de la presse, quand il fait tous ses efforts pour la *détruire*. N'en croyez rien, si même vous voyez dix journaux soudoyés l'assurer de la manière la plus positive. Jugez l'homme d'après ses *actions*. Remarquez que le *Procureur-général* n'est qu'un *vrai instrument entre les mains de Lord Brougham et de son collègue* dans le ministère.

Vous ne verrez pas le *Morning Chronicle*, journal libéral, trouver mauvais qu'on me persécute, ou plutôt ne soyez nullement surpris, si vous le voyez se ranger du côté de mes persécuteurs. Ce journal est maintenant tout dévoué à *Brougham*, et il se prêtera volontiers à tout ce qui pourra contribuer à me



upon these things. In *due time*, I will place this Brougham and his colleagues before all Europe in their *proper light*. Always, however, bear this in mind; that the *great measure* which they have proposed, *they abhor in their hearts*, and that while they are receiving support, they curse their supporters. This is my firm conviction, a conviction in which the main part of well-informed people fully participate; and circumstances which have taken place since the dissolution of the Parliament, and which circumstances will be universally known before it be long, will make every man of common sense of the same opinion. What a charming dilemma! They are striving with all their might, they are working as if for their lives, to accomplish a thing which they abhor! Such is a most appropriate punishment of hypocrisy.

I am,

Gentleman,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

réduire au silence. Je vous engage à ne pas perdre ceci de vue, et lorsqu'il en sera temps je démasquerai Brougham et ses collègues aux yeux de l'Europe entière. Rappelez-vous bien, par dessus tout, qu'ils ont la plus grande horreur pour la *grande mesure* qu'ils viennent de proposer, et qu'ils maudissent, au fond du cœur tous ceux qui la supportent, tout en ayant l'air de solliciter leur appui. Telle est ma conviction: la plus grande partie des hommes instruits la partagent avec moi, et plusieurs événements qui ont eu lieu depuis la dissolution du parlement, et qui ne tarderont pas à être mis au grand jour, porteront tout homme doué d'un peu de sens commun à se ranger de notre avis. Quel beau dilemme! Ils font tous leurs efforts, ils se démenent comme si leur vie en dépendait, pour accomplir une chose qu'ils ont en horreur. Tel est le châtiment réservé à l'hypocrisie.

Je suis,

Messieurs,

votre très obéissant serviteur,

GME. COBBETT.

TO THE  
WORKING PEOPLE  
OF THE  
WHOLE KINGDOM.

*On the Effects which a Parliamentary Reform will have with regard to them.*

MY FRIENDS, Kensington, 1st. May, 1831.

WHAT good will a reform of the Parliament do you? This is the question incessantly put to you by the borough-mongers and their tools. A very pertinent question it is, if put with a view of obtaining a considerate answer; but this is not the case; the question means to assert that it will do you *no good*. It implies that it may do somebody else some good; but that it will do *you* no good. Now, I am for no visionary, no fanciful, no refined benefit; no mental advantage; nothing so very fine that we can neither see, hear, feel, or touch; and, if it could be proved to me that

this reform would bring no real, substantial, aye, and bodily, good to the millions of the people, I should say, at once, that it was good for nothing. The words rights, liberty, freedom, and the like; the mere words, are not worth a straw: and very frequently they serve as a cheat. What is the sound of liberty to a man who is compelled to work constantly; and who is still, in spite of his toil, his vigilance, his frugality, half naked and half starved! In such a case, the word liberty is abused: such a man is a slave, whatever he may call himself. The name of liberty given to his state, only, by amusing him, tends to perpetuate his slavery: none are slaves so degraded as those who are slaves in fact under the name of freedom.

Therefore, if this reform were to produce nothing but a mere transfer of the powers of choosing members of Parliament from the borough-mongers to the people; if it were to produce nothing

but this, it would be of no use at all ; it would be a mere delusion, played off by knaves, or very ignorant pretenders to amuse and impose upon fools. To vote for members of Parliament, or any persons in public power, is a *political right* ; but that right is of no real value, unless men are *better off* in consequence of possessing it. It is the same with every other endowment. We hear a vast boasting about the *light* which we possess now-a-days compared with that which was possessed by our forefathers ; we see a great fuss about what is called *improving the minds* of the working people ; but of what use is this new light in the minds of the working people, unless it add to their bodily enjoyment ; unless it give them better food, better clothing, and, of course, make them more contented and less exposed to crime. The first thing necessary to man is food, next raiment, next lodging and fuel. If he have all these, in sufficient quantity and of good quality, he is seldom led into legal crime, and is much less liable to the commission of moral offences, than if he were steeped in poverty, which is the fruitful parent of misery and crime, and has always been such in every country in the world.

A great deal of deception has been practised upon the working people under the pretence of giving them education, by which the parties practising it choose always to mean, *learning from books*. Now, if this education-work produced real benefit to the working people, it would be a thing to be praised ; but the fact is, that, since this work was begun, the people have regularly become poorer and poorer, crimes have regularly increased, till it now costs more to punish and transport felons than the whole of the maintenance of the poor cost seventy years ago. Do I want the working people to be "*ignorant*" ? No : but when I see that the education, as it is impudently called, and that misery and crimes all go on increasing together ; when I see that the people have become more miserable and less good in exact proportion as the educating work has extended, I must regard this

work as a despicable cheat. Besides, what is "*ignorance*" ? There is a great deal of talk about it ; but *what is it* ? Is the literary man to call a labourer ignorant, because the latter can neither write nor read, and because he does not know A from B ? Well, then, is not the labourer to call the literary man *ignorant*, because he cannot hold a plough or make a hurdle, and because he does not know oats from barley when they are six inches high ? Is the carpenter to call the shoemaker ignorant, because he cannot make a chest of drawers ; or the shoemaker the carpenter, because he cannot make a pair of shoes ? The truth is this, this talk about education of the people is a piece of insolence arising out of the stupid pride of idlers whose knowledge consists in books, or the contents of books. Learning means knowledge ; and a hedger that understands hedging perfectly, is learned in his profession. The pride or vanity of literature despises all knowledge but that which belongs to itself ; and you shall frequently hear a miserable fribble of a wretch, who could hardly disentangle his carcass if clasped by a couple of stout brambles, and who hardly knows a rough sheep-dog from a sheep, speaking of the "*peasantry*" as if they were creatures born without brains.

Oh ! no, my friends. This education-work is generally a sort of cheater ; and when not, it is a despicable folly. Reading and writing cannot teach a labouring man how to perform any of his duties of life. His business is the cultivation of the land, and of all belonging to the land. By these he must live ; and all that is wanting is a sufficiency of food and raiment, and of all the other things that make life easy and happy. If the education-work gave him these, indeed ; but we have seen that it does not ; and, therefore, nothing is it worth to the working man. Oh ! but the people are not superstitious as they used to be. And what of that ? Supposing it to be so, what of that ? The question is, not what thoughts they have passing in their minds ; but, whether they be as well fed, and well clothed, and well lodged as they used to be. Superstitious



is, in itself, a despicable thing; it is by no means necessary to give them good food and good clothing; but if it were, I should say, let them be superstitious again, and for ever. In short, and to state the matter plainly, I would rather that the people should believe in *witchcraft* and have plenty of bread and meat and good Sunday coats, than that they should laugh at witchcraft and be fed on potatoes and covered with rags.

And now, my friends, if I were of opinion that this Reform would make your food and clothing and lodging worse than they are now, though in the smallest possible degree, I should say, "*Curse the despicable delusion!*" Rotten boroughs are very odious things: it is quite monstrous that a place with no inhabitants at all should send two Members to Parliament, while half a million of men assembled together send none at all, and that these Members should be called representatives of the people; this is monstrous. This is an insult to the understandings of the people; this is something calling for a nation's loud and general resentment; but, notwithstanding this, if I believed that the abolition of those boroughs would take one single ounce of bread from the whole of you, I should say, let them remain untouched for ever; and if I were not convinced that the abolition of these rotten boroughs would add to your food, your raiment, and to those other things which tend to your comfort and happiness, I would not step over the sill of the door to cause their abolition; but it is because I know that this change will make you better off; it is because I know that it will make an addition to the reward that you receive for your labour, that I have so long endeavoured to cause it to be adopted; and it shall now be my endeavour to prove to you that it will naturally produce this good effect.

*What is it that has stripped you of your Sunday clothes? What is it that has brought you down to live upon potatoes? What is it that has produced this sad, this disgraceful change in England? This is what we must first*

*inquire into: we must first see the cause of your misery! and then inquire whether the Reform will remove that cause.*

As to the reality of the misery, we need say nothing about that at present; that is now notorious. You are better off than you were; but even this little better cannot continue without producing utter ruin amongst your employers. We must look, therefore, now to the cause of your being so poor and so badly dressed; and then, as I said before, inquire whether parliamentary reform will remove that dreadful cause. The cause, then, is the **WEIGHT OF TAXATION**. You are often told that you pay no taxes: there are men impudent enough to tell you this; there are so many hundreds of thousands who, directly or indirectly, live upon the taxes, that there never will be wanting somebody to tell this brazen lie to the people. But if there were no tax upon the malt and the hops you would have good ale for a penny a quart of your own brewing. You would have sugar for twopence-halfpenny a pound instead of sevenpence. You would have as much tobacco for a penny as you have now for a shilling. Aye, say the tax-eaters, but then *wages would be lower*. Certainly, they might be something lower; but not a tenth part would be taken off from them, while more than one-half would be taken off from the burdens that you bear. Besides this, there is no tax that can be laid upon your employers that does not affect you. In order that you may be convinced of this great truth, that taxation, in whatsoever degree it may exist, makes every-body poorer except the tax-eaters, I offer you the following observations, to which I beg you to attend.

Suppose, now, that the Isle of Wight, for instance, had nobody living in it but farmers, smiths, wheelwrights, other working people, and farmers and their servants. Suppose that they turned their wool and their flax and their hides into wearing apparel, and neither had commerce nor communication with the rest of the world. In this case all would be

employed ; one would be raising food, another making clothes, another making or mending houses, and so on. Suppose there to be perpetual peace and harmony, and that no expense of Government was at all required. Such a state of things can never exist beyond the extent of a family or two ; but suppose it could be so : then suppose that, from some cause or another, some man should become more powerful than any other twenty or thirty men. Suppose, in short, that by gathering some violent men about him, and preparing some arms for the purpose, he should be able to compel the rest of the inhabitants to keep him in idleness, him and the whole of his band. Is it not manifest that all the industrious people of the Isle of Wight must be worse off than they were before ? Must not they be the poorer in exact proportion to the quantity of their substance taken away by this man and his band ? He might call that which he took away taxes, or call it by some other name ; but still it would be taking away a part of what was enjoyed before by those who worked in some way or other.

To make the matter plain if possible, suppose a little community, consisting of ten men, each having a wife, each three children, and all equally healthy, equally sober, and equally virtuous. Suppose them all to be employed in providing food and other things for one another ; and all of them to have a sufficiency, arising from their work, to keep them well. Suppose this little community to be so abominably foolish as to make one of the number a gentleman, and to have him and his family to go swaggering about doing no work ; and to keep him in this state by contributions levied upon themselves. What would the consequence of this foolish step be ? Why, a part of the earnings of each of the other nine must be taken to be given to him ; and, to be sure, the other nine would have less of food and of raiment than they had before. To make the matter as simple as possible, suppose there to be no money in the community ; yet they must give him and his family victuals and drink and

clothing and lodging, and, in whatever proportion they give them to him, they must have so much the less of themselves. Is it not, therefore, clear as day-light that taxes, in whatever shape raised, must take from those who pay the taxes, and who receive none of them ?

When I was born, the taxes in this country amounted to about *eight millions a year*. They now amount to *sixty millions a year* ; and, as the poor-rates then amounted to a little more than a million a year, they now amount to seven millions and a half a year ; so that the working people of England have become seven times as poor as they were when I was born. At that time, it was a rare thing for a person to go to the parish for relief. Mr. GAWLER, in a parish lying under Weyhill in Hampshire, told me that his father could remember when there were only seven persons chargeable to that parish ; and, at the time when Mr. GAWLER told me this, there were only seven working men in the whole parish who were not on the parish book. But, is it not clear as daylight, that if one man come and take away another man's dinner, the latter must be the poorer for it ?

Now, whence have these taxes come ? Every one of them by act of Parliament : every one of them has been imposed by an act of Parliament. No matter how they are expended, we know that they impoverish the people. No matter, for the argument, how they are expended ; but a great matter it is, for the fact, and, in order to show that a reform of the Parliament will, and must, make these taxes cease to exist in any amount beyond that which is absolutely necessary to the support of the Government ; that is to say, to the maintenance of the peace, to the protection of property and life, and to the maintenance of the just rights of the kingdom. For these purposes it is the duty, and, indeed, the interest, of us all to contribute a share of our incomes or our earnings, in proportion to our ability to contribute. But, for no purposes beyond these will a reformed Parliament compel us to contribute ; for, if



it were, the Reform would be a thing to be despised, instead of being sought for with all the zeal and all the energy that are now in motion for the attainment of that great object.

The great business of Government is to provide for the happiness of the people that live under that Government. If it do provide for that happiness; if it take care that every man shall quietly enjoy the fruits of his labour; if it take care that industry shall have its due reward; that the idle shall not fatten upon the toil of the industrious; and that, in short, all good people have as easy and comfortable lives as they can enjoy; if it do these things, it is of very little consequence what name the Government bears, what is the form of it, or what it be called by any-body that chooses to speak of it. If, as I said above, a parliament with rotten boroughs would cause these excellent effects to take place, I should say nothing against rotten boroughs; but we have seen that it produces the contrary effects; we have seen that it produces misery unspeakable; therefore we wish it to be changed; therefore we want that which is justly called a Reform of the Parliament.

It is said by many persons, that *none of the taxes can be taken off*. Nay, the *present Ministers* seem to say as much themselves; or they say, at least, that, if some taxes be taken off, others must be put on; that if the tax be taken off candles, there must be a tax put upon steam-boats or upon something else. If the people believed this, not a hand or tongue would stir for parliamentary reform. Mr. Alderman Wood, however, declared the other day, in the Guildhall of London, that two millions out of three might be saved in the expenses of the *civil department of the Government*. Let me state an instance of expenditure to you. There was a pension given to one BURKE, in the year 1795. The amount was two thousand five hundred pounds a year, for which he had never done any thing. This pension was granted for his life, and for three other lives, one of which was then a very young life indeed; so that, when

he died, which was thirty-one years ago, he *left this pension to relations*, and it has ever since been paid to his executors or their descendants, and is so paid to this hour. This, pension, which, observe, is paid out of the taxes, enabled this BURKE to *bequeath a portion of the taxes to his relations*! On account of this pension, about ninety-seven thousand pounds have already been paid out of the taxes, and, in great part, paid by the labouring people, in the tax on their malt, soap, hops, candles and tobacco, and all other necessities of life. Two of the lives for which this pension was granted, still exist; namely, Lord ALTHORP and Lord GREY's brother, the Dean; so that this pension may continue to be paid out of the labour of the people for thirty years to come!

Now, my friends, will a reformed parliament ever vote, even for one single year, the money wherewith to pay this pension? If I thought it would, I should say, "Curse the miserable delusion of Parliamentary Reform!" I give you this merely as a specimen, merely as a sample, merely as one grain of a whole sack of the same sort. No other piece of expenditure precisely like this, to be sure; but millions upon millions and tens of millions expended upon grounds not a bit more just than this; and this is my settled opinion, after having had the subject before me for nearly thirty years.

Then, again, as to country matters. Is it to be believed that a reformed Parliament will adopt no measure with regard to *tithes*? Is it to be believed that it will pay no attention to the arguments offered by me in *Two-penny Trash*, No. 7? Is it to be believed that they will suffer the income of three or four livings to be swallowed up by one man, taken away out of the parishes and spent in London, or, very likely, at Paris or at Rome, while the religious duties of the parish are left to be performed by a miserable curate? Is this to be believed? If I believed it, I should despise the man that talked to me of Parliamentary Reform. I should call such a man an impostor; and, if he were a Minister, I should say that he had

conjured up the miserable delusion in order to keep his own place, and to have an opportunity of pillaging the people; I should say that he was still more hateful than the owner of a rotten borough, and should anticipate with delight the hour of his overthrow, instead of thanking him for his plans of reform.

Oh, no, my friends. A reformed Parliament will produce great changes, indeed: it will look into the several items of expenditure; it will soon discover that which the present Ministers have been unable as yet to discover; namely, that the present taxes are not required, and that they need not be granted: it will soon discover that an army of an hundred thousand men can never be necessary in a time of profound peace; and, in short, it will discover the means of reducing the expenditure to that amount at which it stood when I was a boy. The very mention of this, while it will make you gay, in the anticipation of a return of meat and bread, instead of potatoes, will make those who live upon the taxes, those endless swarms of idlers who live upon the labour of others, tremble in their shoes; for, to those who have been accustomed to live upon the labour of others, no thought is so horrible as that of their being compelled to work for their own living. Such people look upon the industrious part of mankind as having been made to work for them; just as we look upon dogs as having been made to keep our sheep, and upon horses as having been made to draw our wagons or carts. These insolent wretches call you "the *peasantry*," or the "*population*:" they never call you *the people*. The word *people* is quite out of use with them. They always speak of you as we speak of the stock upon a farm, which we think ourselves justified in treating in any manner that we please. A reform of the Parliament, by compelling these people to earn their own bread in some way or another, will make them cease to talk about *peasantry* and *population*. They will once more discover that you are *people*; and, when they begin to sweat a little themselves,

they will discover that hard labour is worthy of good food and good raiment. If you could all of you come to London, and see the fine carriages in Hyde Park of a fine Sunday; if you could see the beautiful horses, the finely-dressed coachmen and footmen, pannels of the carriages shining enough to put your eyes out; if you could come and see all these, how surprised you would be; how little you would seem to yourselves! with silks and cambrics in your eyes, you would be ashamed to look down upon your own bodies, covered with your miserable smock-frocks. If any of the gods or goddesses who sit within the carriages were to condescend to cast a look at you, how ready you would be to snatch off your hats. Now, my good fellows, do see this matter in its true light. Nineteen-twentieths, and perhaps ninety-nine hundredths, of all this dazzling finery has been taken out of your labour; for, even those of you who have been making hedges and ditches have been paying the taxes, which, being given to these people, enable them to purchase all these fineries; and, perhaps, one single equipage, amongst the many that you behold, has been the cause of filling a hamlet or a village with beggary and misery.

It is the great business, it is the greatest of all the affairs of a government, to prevent this cruel inequality. Out of this inequality arise all the sufferings, all the immoralities, all the crimes that now disgrace this country. And, am I to believe that a reformed parliament will suffer this great and crying evil to remain uncorrected? If I could believe this possible, I should think myself the greatest of deceivers in calling upon you to support this Reform. I have observed before, and I beseech you to attend to it, that the words *liberty*, *freedom*, *rights*, and the rest of the catalogue which hypocritical knaves send rolling off the tongue, are worth nothing at all: it is things that we want. Those men who make a fuss about sorts of government, and who tell us about the good things which arise from the republican government of America, deceive themselves, or deceive



others. It is not because the government is republican; but because it is cheap; and it is cheap, not because it is republican, but because the people choose those who make the laws and vote the taxes. If the President of America were called King of America instead of being called President, it would be of no consequence to the people, if the King cost no more than the President now costs. Nothing is worth looking after, nothing is worth talking about, but the *cost*; because it is this that comes and takes the dinner from the labourer, and that takes the coat from his back.

We have had, during this last winter, a clear proof that we never can have relief except through the means of a Reform of the Parliament. During the winter before, Sir JAMES GRAHAM proved that 113 of the aristocracy of England received out of the taxes six hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, a sum equal in amount to a year's poor-rates of the five Counties of *Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, and Cumberland!* Think of that, working people of England! Think of that! I have taken the first five counties on the alphabetical list. What a noise, what a worrying, what bitter complainings do we hear from this aristocracy about the "*drain*" which the poor-rates cause from their estates? What an everlasting outcry about the weight of these poor-rates! Select vestries, assistant-overseers, Sturges Bourne's Bills, checking of marriages amongst the working people, one tyrant forbidding them to marry till after they are thirty years of age, others causing husbands to be kept from their wives to prevent them from breeding, and there comes the young and lofty Northumbrian, with a plan for getting the working-people out of the country, in order to lessen their numbers and in order to lower the monstrous amount of the poor-rates; all this going forward while 113 of the aristocracy swallow up more than is given to relieve the poor of five Counties of England, including church-rates, highway-rates, and county rates! These *hundred and thirteen* men receive out of the taxes

a sum equal to the RENT, not the *rates*, but the *rent*, of all the lands, houses, roads, canals, and every thing else in either of the counties of Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Dorset, Hereford, or Hertford; and they receive as much as the amount of the rental of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire put together, and as much as the rental of the three counties of Monmouth, Rutland, and Westmoreland! Here is a monstrous thing! Here are 113 men wallowing up all this rental, which amount is taken out of the taxes, mind; yet no one proposes a law to put an end to this enormous evil.

But Sir JAMES GRAHAM is now a *Cabinet Minister!* He has surely proposed some law to put an end to this! Not a word about the matter! Not a syllable about the matter! There are the *hundred and thirteen* pretty aristocrats, with their six hundred and fifty thousands pounds a year paid out of the fruit of the labour of the people, and Sir JAMES GRAHAM, who received so many scores of addresses thanking him for this exposure, comes into power, pockets his salary as first Lord of the Admiralty, and says not a single word about the one hundred and thirteen men who receive the six hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. The English Bishops receive more probably than the poor-rates of four counties first upon the alphabetical list. Now, if a reformed Parliament can be thought capable of leaving these things untouched, a reformed Parliament would be the greatest delusion that ever was palmed upon mankind. No, my friends, a reformed Parliament will put these matters to rights; and, therefore, it is the duty of us all to labour earnestly for the obtaining of such a Parliament. Such a Parliament would, in a short time, suffer us to brew our beer with malt and hops not taxed; suffer us to have our sugar at half the present price; suffer us, in short, to be well off, and suffer us to remain quietly in our country without pestering us with projects to get us into a foreign land. Therefore, every exertion in our power, whatever the extent of that power may

be, and, in whatever way it can legally be employed, ought to be made use of in order to cause this reform to be effected. Every man, however poor, may possess some degree of influence, and be that influence what it may, he ought to exert it. If a man have not a vote himself, some relation may have a vote, or some friend; and he should interfere with these as far as he lawfully can, and urge them to vote for nobody who will not vote for a Parliamentary Reform.

This is my advice to you, my friends: there is no hope of seeing any amendment in the country until this reform be effected: no change short of this can do any good. The time for making exertions will soon be gone by; and let no man have to reproach himself with having neglected his duty.

With the most anxious wishes for your welfare, and with great hopes of seeing you once more well off,

I remain your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

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TO THE  
READERS OF THE REGISTER.

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REFORM BATTLE.

MY FRIENDS,

TALK of battles, indeed! Talk of WATERLOO and SALAMANCA! This Reform Bill is the battle of battles. I shall here endeavour to give an account of this battle, as it now appears to be. It is the most curious thing that the world ever witnessed. *The people are pushing on the Ministers against their opponents, and against themselves, too: the people are not making the Ministers "turn their backs upon themselves," as Castlereagh called it; but they are making them fight against themselves. These latter know this; but still they must go on; still they must push forward; for, to stop, to recede a step; nay, not to go forward, is instant loss of place, power, and emolument, and everlasting disgrace and contempt!*

In order to give you a lively picture

of the nature and the present state of this struggle, I must show you *what the factions are saying of each other*. It is pleasant for us, my friends, to see the TIMES, that bloody old paper; and the COURIER, that other instigator to blood and cruelty, which papers, in 1817, called aloud for the dungeoning and the gagging-bills, in order to put down the cause of reform; it is pleasant, my friends, to see these ruffian and bloody-minded writers, who mocked at the groans of OGDEN, and at my being driven across the Atlantic to escape the dungeons of SIDMOUTH and CASTLE-REAGH, reviling the nobility in the grossest possible terms; calling them *boroughmongers*, a term which I never applied to one of them in the course of my life. I have railed enough against boroughmongers, and very justly; but I never applied the name to any particular man, and particularly to any one of the nobility. Now all reserve is cast off. Lord GREY, in the early part of the last session, said that he *disapproved of the use of the word boroughmonger*. The MORNING CHRONICLE, the infamous Old TIMES, the COURIER, all the papers on the side of Lord GREY's party, are now familiarly talking of *base boroughmongers, infernal boroughmongers, insolent boroughmongers, infamous boroughmongers, plundering boroughmongers, tax-robbing boroughmongers*; and they are not only making use of these epithets and this term, but they apply them by name to such of the nobility as they are endeavouring to bring into hatred and contempt. I do not say that it is pleasing to us to see publications like these for the sake of the publications themselves; but it is pleasing for us to see that the baseness of these writers stands now exposed to the world. Take the following specimen, from the MORNING CHRONICLE of the 4th of May:—

THE BOROUGHMONGERS'  
SUBSCRIPTION.

Some surprise has been expressed at the largeness of the sums contributed by some of the corruptionists to stifle reform; but when it is seen what enormous pecuniary interests are at stake (to say nothing of the gratifica-



tions of pride and ambition), there will be no cause of astonishment. Take one or two instances from the first names that appear on the list; and I will add a third, to show the working of the system in Ireland.

The Duke of Rutland (in whose family no eminent degree of personal merit has ever yet appeared) was, at one time, owing to the influence of the *accursed abuse*—now denounced by King, Government, and people—able to secure for his own relations, the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Speaker of the House of Commons; and for his tutor, that exemplary successor of the Apostles, *Dr. Sparke*, the see of *Ely*, rich in revenue and patronage, with many other smaller things for his connexions and dependents.

The Duke of Northumberland (a family of the same mediocrity of personal pretensions as the Mannors) has long been in the habit of obtaining every thing he asked. Thus the nation saw with indignation Church preferments piled upon *Dr. Percy*, to the number of eight or nine, yielding many thousands per annum, and, at last, the see of *Carlisle*! He demanded another *Bishopric* for his tutor, *Dr. Bethell*, and, of course, got it. For another *Percy* he claimed and gained a *Commissionership of Excise*. In fact, none of the public departments are to be found, that are not stocked with persons thrust into them by this family, and others, possessing the same Parliamentary interest.

The Beresfords (a family standing on the same humble intellectual level with the Percys and Mannors) have exercised in Ireland an equal command over the *spolia opima* of the state. Thus there were three of them at once in the enjoyment of *Mitres* (an Archbishop and two Episcopal ones), producing prodigious heaps of gold, while they filled with their own numerous connexions every piece of preferment in their gift; the family seizing at the same time all the posts in the army and navy, and all the Government places that it was possible for them to fill.

This is a specimen of the work now carried on by the papers which support the Ministry. Nor do they stop here. That branch of the Government; that body of great public functionaries, who hold their important offices for life, and to protect whose offices and character from attack, has been deemed so essential to the administration of law and justice; even that body of functionaries, namely, the Judges, is not spared in this dreadful war of faction. The *Morning Chronicle* of the 30th of April, publishes a speech said to have been made the day before on the hustings of the borough of Southwark, by Mr. WILLIAM BROUGHAM, who, ob-

serve, has been made a Master in Chancery by his brother, with a salary of three thousand pounds a year. In this speech, the speaker uttered great invectives against every-body, high and low, which he seemed to consider adverse to the continuance of the power of his party. Amongst other things, the *Chronicle* publishes, as part of his speech, the following words: "It was impossible for Sir Robert not to be convinced, that from one end of the kingdom to the other, the measure was loudly called for, and if Sir Robert were now in office he would use that very argument. Sir Robert was not a reformer not because the bill would produce revolution, or cut off the King's head, but because he was no longer, nor was he ever likely to be again, Minister of the Crown. (Loud cheers.) If the present Ministers were turned out—which God avert—and Sir R. Peel should come in, it would not be 100 years before he would himself propose such a plan of Reform, (cheers and laughter,) so high was his (Mr. B.'s) opinion of Sir Robert's love of self and love of office. Among the devices used to defeat the measure was the active canvassing now carrying on by high and learned personages, no less than Judges of the land. (Cries of 'shame' and 'name.') He would not name them, because they had already sufficiently disgraced their station, and let their own punishment be that of their own consciences. (Loud cheers.)"

The next day the infamous *Old Times* newspaper published the following paragraph upon the same subject:—"CANVASSING JUDGES.—Since the bad days of Charles I. the judges of the land have held a decorous and dignified neutrality upon political questions. That is now at an end, and those bad days are renewed. It has been asked, why should they bestir themselves against reform? The answer is, those judges expect that a reformed Parliament is very likely to ask another question, and it is this, 'Why should judges have 5,500*l.* a year salary in such times

as these?" For far less than this, Mr. WHITE, of the INDEPENDENT WHIG; for a far less rude attack than this upon the judges, Mr. WHITE had to pass three years of his life in Dorchester jail. The COURIER of the 2nd of May follows up the blow at the bench in the following most decorous manner:—

"We regret exceedingly to hear that one of his Majesty's Judges has, with a total disregard of decency towards his Sovereign, and of the duty of his station, taken an active part in favour of the Anti-Reform Candidates at Cambridge. We cannot conceive any-thing more improper in a judge than an interference in politics, no matter on what side, for how can such a man be fit to preside on trials of a political nature? The avowed bias of his mind would necessarily produce distrust either in the defendant or the prosecutor; and, however just his decision might be, it would, nevertheless, appear, to a portion of the public at least, as the prejudiced opinion of a political partisan. Let us just suppose the editor of the liberal Paper at Cambridge prosecuted before such a judge for an article written during the excitement of the election, and ask whether he could expect a fair trial? When the situation of a judge was rendered independent of the crown, the intention was, that there should be no temptation for his becoming a political partisan in favour of the court, and that intention was conceived in the best spirit of freedom, but it never could have been meant that a judge should become a political partisan against the Government, and at the same time against the liberties of the people. The conduct of Lord LYNTHURST, a judge restored to the bench by an impartial ministry, but who could not have expected that he would have availed himself of his independence to oppose the King when in the act of promoting the happiness of his subjects, and the more recent display of political interference by a judge at Cambridge, prove that even the best intentions may be frustrated, and almost make

"us wish that judges were dependent upon the crown, in order that the crown might have the power of punishing individuals who have with so much impropriety attempted to thwart the wishes of the King, and disturb the tranquillity of the country."

To wind up the pretty series, comes the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 4th of May, with the following words:—

"The part taken by the learned and noble CHIEF BARON in the excited politics of the period, has been the subject of some animadversion; but the conduct of a *Puisne Judge*, referred to by many of our contemporaries, and whom we understand to be Mr. Justice James Parke, in respect of the Cambridge University Election, is likely, as has been confidently affirmed, to be made the subject of some parliamentary proceeding; perhaps even of a motion for an impeachment."

I beg to be clearly understood as not inserting these paragraphs because I agree with the writers of them, either as to the facts or in sentiment. I insert them for the purpose of showing that these papers, one of which censured us reformers in 1817, and the other two of which actually called for our blood upon that occasion, now, fighting under the wing of a Ministry, are attacking the very existence of the Government itself, by endeavouring to destroy all confidence in those functionaries, on whose strict impartiality the safety of our very lives depends, and on no one of whom an attack was ever yet made in the studious premeditated and systematic manner by any-body of the abused Radicals and Jacobins, nor by any single Radical or Jacobin; and we shall see, that if the Judges be defended, they must rely upon themselves for the defence. But, my friends, judge you of the violence of this Whig-faction; judge you of their bitterness; judge you of their dreadful alarm lest power and emolument should slip through their fingers. They seem as if they could drink hot blood rather than be bereft of their prey. They have gone the length of recommending that



the Lieutenancies of the counties should be taken from those Lords who oppose them ; and some of them have gone so far as to recommend that the commissions of the peace should be taken from such magistrates as oppose their views. I say *their* views ; for their views are not the views of the people. The people honestly want a reform of the Parliament, and want to see nobody reviled, nobody calumniated, nobody torn down and dragged in the dirt. The people have no interest in putting up one faction above another ; the people do not care who is Minister, providing that they have the choosing of their representatives in Parliament.

My friends, I pray you keep your eye well fixed upon this Whig-faction. They acknowledge that they did not, at first, intend to propose a reform *anything like so extensive* as that which they finally proposed. They have distinctly acknowledged this ; and, indeed, when the real history of this Reform Bill shall come out, the country will be filled with indignation at learning what they really did at first intend. They have, therefore, no love at all for the measure which they have introduced ; but they were at last reduced to the dilemma of quitting their places in disgrace, or of proposing, and carrying through, this Reform Bill.

Now, and I pray you mark it well, they see the people roused and resolved to have this reform : they see that it must be. They hate it ; but they see that it must be, and their great fear is, that their rivals will come into power and be the instruments of giving that which they have so reluctantly proposed to give, and *a little more* along with it. Now, pray, my good friends, *do mark this* : do pay attention to this : do keep this in your minds ; and then you will account for every-thing that you see take place in the conduct of this faction. Having this in your mind, turn to the extract which I have made from the speech of the youngest of the brood of the BROUGHAMS, who, by such a clever trick, kept that real reformer, COLONEL JONES, out of a seat for the Borough. Look at that speech, uttered by this

trickster, whose conduct upon the occasion has filled every honest man with indignation ; look at that speech, my friends, and you will clearly perceive that this mouth-piece of the grand *puff-master* was anxious about nothing but to **KEEP THE GRANTING OF REFORM OUT OF THE HANDS OF PEEL AND HIS PARTY!** Now, my friends, I do beseech you to remark this. We shall have reform : we shall have this bill, if not more. Be in no sort of anxiety about that ; but resolve not to be made the tools of this faction or of any faction, and be not persuaded, I pray you, that a reform will be the better, because it comes from the hands of these mean and malignant Whigs.

Mark the words of this fat and patriotic Master in Chancery :—" If the present Ministers were turned out, *which God avert*, and Sir Robert Peel should come in, it would not be a hundred years **BEFORE HE HIMSELF WOULD PROPOSE SUCH A PLAN OF REFORM**, so great *was his love of office.*" There was, it seems, great laughter when he said this ; and well there might ; for who could refrain from laughing at the secret thus let out by this youngest of the puffed-up brood. Now, you will find this dread running through the whole of the attacks upon PEEL and his party. This party continued to speak against all reform till they found that the people were resolved to have it ; but when they found that, they changed their tone : they then said that they were for a *moderate reform*. This word *moderate* has no definite meaning : it means something between two extremes ; but it will admit of stretching either way. That which the Whigs have proposed is quite moderate enough. PEEL and WETHERELL know well that we will not take less ; and if they will but add Members enough to keep up the English number, and shorten the duration of Parliaments to the standard of William III., away go the insolent and greedy Whigs, never to be heard of more, except in my history of them.

My friends, once more, I pray you, keep your eye upon the anxiety of this

faction to prevent their rivals from coming into power. You will see them, presently, going so far as to *recommend the non-payment of taxes!* Aye, you will see the *COURIER* newspaper, which is praising the Ministers and advocating the cause of the Government; you will see this newspaper recommending the people not to pay taxes if the bill be not passed; you will see BURDETT, who is the manager of the fund for getting Members returned to support the Government, recommending to the King not to issue his writs to the rotten boroughs again, if the Parliament now returned do not pass the bill. Nothing that ever was heard of in the world comes up to the violence of this faction, who really seem to be furious enough to run knives into any-body that they think entertains the design of driving them from their places.

As an instance of their fury and of their folly at the same time, look at the above paragraph, taken from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 4th of May, and containing an account of what the *Chronicle* says the Dukes of RUTLAND and NORTHUMBERLAND, and the BERESFORDS, have gained by what the *Chronicle* calls the "*accursed abuse*." Whether these noblemen have thus gained is not the point, here; but whether the Whig-faction have not made, as far as they could, the *same use* of the same sort of power. If we have reform, *effectual* reform, and *soon*, we do not want to look at *the past*; but if we look at the past with regard to *one* faction, justice forbids us to close our eyes with regard to the other. But before I notice this more particularly, let me request your attention to an article contained in the *Courier* newspaper of the 2nd of May, respecting the intended, or rather recommended, measure to *refuse to pay taxes*. This is very desperate work. If I had made such a proposition as this, the "*liberal*" Denman, and his liberal masters, would have been for skinning me alive. The faction is perfectly desperate. They know that there will be reform in spite of them: perfidious as they proverbially

are, they know that they cannot now betray us; and they also know that their rivals, who have not the mark of *perfidy* so clearly stamped on them, would, in fact, do that which they have proposed: and they suspect that they would *do more*. This thought enrages them beyond measure. Burdett, who, it is said, is to have a Peerage from the Whigs, is come to be again a most furious and enraged advocate for reform, though, in 1827, he stuck his knees in Canning's back, when the latter said he would *oppose reform to the last hour of his life*; and when Lord John Russell said he should discontinue his labours in the cause of reform, as *the people no longer wished to have it*. The faction clearly see, notwithstanding all their boasting, that there will be, or is likely to be, a majority against them in the new Parliament: they see this clearly; and they wish to inculcate the notion, that it is impossible for us to have reform, *unless it be given by themselves*. We must take care not to fall into this trap: we must take care not to join them in execrating the other party: we must take care not to fall out with a bigger loaf, or with the same loaf, if the other party be ready to give it: we must take care, in short, not to be cheated by these Whigs, and no little care that will require at our hands.

To return to BURDETT, he, on the hustings, at his election, taking it for granted that nobody can give us reform that will not make him a lord, said, that they, the electors, "*had not now one of those crazy owls upon the throne who would sit still and witness the plundering of the people, but a King of that stamp, that, if the so-called representatives of the people had the hardihood to disregard their universal sentiment, he would, in calling the next Parliament, withhold the writs of those places which ought to be disfranchised.*" (Cheers.) He had heard Sir Robert Peel say, in the House of Commons, that he would go down to his electors, holding the Bill in his hand, and, although it was known he was opposed to it, he



"would trust to that Bill for success. (Hisses and groans.) Now he, (Sir Francis Burdett,) judging from the elections as far as they had gone, thought that the Right Honourable Baronet, if he held the bill in one hand, must hold something in the other of very different materials. (Great cheering.) For a trifling expense the boroughmongers would be defeated; and he was confident the bill would not only be carried, but carried triumphantly by the voice of the people. His Majesty had exercised one prerogative: he had another to exercise should it be necessary, which was, *to dissolve Parliament again, and then refuse to issue his writs to the rotten boroughs.* (Loud cheers.) Oh! "*crazy owls*" is it? The King, who, upon coming to the throne was so particular in saying that he should tread in the steps of his father and his brother, will scarcely think this much of a compliment. *Crazy owls!* And, therefore, as the King is not a crazy owl, he is to dissolve the Parliament again, and not send writs to the rotten boroughs. Now, for my part, I have not the smallest objection to this; but did it occur to daddy Burdett that this would not give the Whigs a majority in the *House of Lords!* And that a "*crazy owl*" would be just as good as any-thing else to prevent a majority against the Whigs in that House? Of that House, however, the family of Brougham do not seem to make very much, for the lucky Master in Chancery most gloriously abused and jeered that House, in a speech made by him in the Borough the other day; and made the Borough people laugh most heartily at *hereditary* law-givers, endued with *hereditary* wisdom, and "*hereditary* talents;" and as a proof of the march of mind, a speaker at the Marylebone meeting, a few days afterwards, observed, that he did not think a House of Lords at all necessary to the support of the Throne. I leave the Broughams to settle this point with LORD GREY, and now come to the direct proposition on the part of the Government journals, for the people to refuse to pay taxes if

the Reform Bill be not carried; or, rather; for this is the proposition, if the Ministers find themselves in a minority in the new Parliament. Observe, my friends, that the Ministerial paper, the *Courier*, recommends, that the *people should cease to pay taxes*, if the Ministers have a majority against them in the new Parliament. I will here insert, word for word, the passage in the *Courier* of the 2nd of May. It is the first time, I believe, that the *tools of a Ministry* ever recommended to the people to cease to pay taxes. I offer no opinion of my own upon the subject. I leave my readers to form their opinions about it; but shall have to add a few remarks when I have inserted the article:—

The subscription of the great borough-owners is the most barefaced piece of profligacy to be found in the whole history of boroughmongering. Why, the money subscribed is rightfully the nation's—at least, if that still belong to a man which has been wrongfully taken from him; and if, as is clear, these borough-lords would not have had the money to subscribe, unless they had quartered their brothers and sisters, and mothers and aunts, on the public, as well as, not a few of them, their mistresses and illegitimate children. Who forgets the history of the late Duke of Beaufort's will, which may be seen at Doctors' Commons on payment of a shilling, and which charges the estates of the present Duke with annuities to his brothers "until they shall be better provided for by the Government?" The amount of public money received by the Somersets since the Duke of Beaufort came of age, far exceeds the value of the estates which he bequeathed to the present Duke. The late Earl of Beverley, uncle of the present Duke of Northumberland, purchased the borough of Beeralston (being one old tree) for 10,000*l.*; and an account of the public money received by the Beverley Smithsons—the present Earl and his brothers—would show that the old tree has produced at least 50 per cent. per annum on what the said tree cost. "*The wealthy conservative party,*" indeed! No wonder that they are able—no wonder that they should be willing—to subscribe for the preservation of boroughmongery! Still, the fear of losing those old walls, and old mounds, and old trees, with which for so many years they have plundered this once patient people, renders them blind to the danger of outraging the nation, now bent on governing and taxing itself. Suppose that they should succeed in *buying a majority of votes for the new Parliament*; what then? Have they heard of the discussions in *Sussex* and *Warwickshire* as to the *legality* of associations

for the non-payment of taxes in money? Quakers are not supposed to do that which is illegal when they tell the tax-gatherer to *seize their goods*; and the Quakers are permanently associated for regulating the conduct of the whole body: so that we do not see how the very comprehensive law of "conspiracy" even could be brought to bear upon associations for paying taxes *like the Quakers*. The association, without the deed, would be enough; for who would buy the goods of one person in arrear of taxes, if a thousand persons in the same neighbourhood had declared that they would pay taxes only in goods? and what tax-gatherer would incur the expense of seizing goods without the least prospect of selling them? But even supposing such associations perfectly legal—on which point we offer no opinion as yet—the small amount of *direct taxes* may appear to render them insignificant. On this last point we have no doubt. At present, a rotten borough is worth but little in the market; but the old tree at Beeralston would not fetch one sixpence if twenty thousand of the middle classes had associated to pay taxes like the Quakers. Many other things would lose all market value, from the Scotch freeholders' parchment right of voting to the very pigs in Smithfield. Newark voters and neat cattle would no more be driven to market. And yet these would be most loyal associations, since they would greatly raise the value of money impressed with the King's head. In a word, association alone would suffice in this case;—the only question is, would such associations be contrary to law? That question was commonly, though not publicly, discussed before the introduction of the Reform Bill; and *it will be tried*, if the association of boroughmongers should *buy a majority in the new Parliament and turn out the Ministers*. Come what may, the immense sum subscribed by the boroughmongering lords and baronets will never be paid, as they intend it should, by the people. However, the question is yet in abeyance. That the borough lords may never render it a present one, none can desire more earnestly than ourselves.

This, coming from a government paper, shows the desperateness of the situation of the Whigs. As to the amount of the direct taxes, it is, at any rate, about *six millions* of pounds sterling a year; and besides, does any man imagine, that, if once this were begun, if once this were "tried," as the *Courier* calls it; does any man imagine that refusal to pay would stop here? If this were once "tried," would it not run like wild-fire all over the country; and who believes that, after that, the parsons would ever be able to collect another sixpennyworth of tithes? The *Courier*

talks of *Sussex and Warwickshire*; but does he imagine that the thing would be confined to those two counties? Besides assessed taxes and tithes, however, does any man believe that the taxes on malt or hops, for instance, would be any longer paid? These are not direct taxes upon the consumer of malt and of hops, but they are direct taxes upon the maker of the malt and the grower of the hops; and I will warrant you they would soon "try" the thing as well as other people. If the maltster did not "try" it, he would find very few people to "try" his malt. For every one knows how to make malt. In short, who, if this thing were once "tried," would venture to perform the office of excisemen? There would be an end of the whole thing at once; for even if the Reform were granted after this thing is "tried," people would find the trial so beneficial to their pockets, that no power on earth would ever get them back to the payment again.

But, my friends, what is the case contemplated as justifying this desperate experiment? The *Courier* does not tell us to refuse to pay taxes, *if reform be refused to us*; it does not tell us to resort to this last remedy; it does not tell us that we are to do this thing in order to get reform; but in order to *keep the whigs in their places*. I pray you mark his words: "IT WILL BE TRIED, if the boroughmongers should buy a majority in the new Parliament and turn out the Ministers." So that we are to do this most desperate thing; *effectual* I allow; but still desperate; and he advises us to do this most desperate thing, if the Ministers cannot be *kept in their places without it*! For the same purpose Burdett would have the King dissolve the Parliament again, and place himself at open war with the peers. Now, my friends, I beseech you to bear these things in mind; I beseech you to observe, that our duty in this case is this; first, to use all our best endeavours to cause such men to be returned to Parliament as will vote for the Reform Bill, and give us a reform by peaceable means; next, if we perceive that there is a ma-



majority against the *Ministers*, to look well at the *grounds* of the opposition; next, if we find that Peel and his associates will give us a little more, especially a shortening of the duration of Parliaments; if we find this, we have nothing to do with the turning out of the ministry; that is nothing to us; we are not in place and do not want to get into place; so that we have the reform; let us cheerfully leave it to his Majesty to decide by whose hands we shall receive it. These present men may be disagreeable to him in various ways; we all have our likings and our dislikings; we ought not to wish to force a particular set of men upon the King; if it be his pleasure that we should receive the reform from other hands, it is our duty to acquiesce, and to receive it from those other hands without any diminution of our gratitude towards his Majesty.

I am desirous to press these opinions upon your attention, because it is my firm belief that the Ministers will not have a majority in the new House of Commons; because I am sure that they will have a great majority against them in the Lords; and because I cannot believe that men who have so much at stake as the peers and their nominees have, will, at last, persist in refusing reform, and thereby array the whole nation in bitter hostility against them. In short, it is my firm belief that it is, at this very moment, a matter of *rivalship between the two parties, which of them shall have the honour and lasting benefit of giving us the reform that shall be satisfactory to the nation*. And this being my opinion, I am for guarding my readers against interfering at all in the question of who shall be Minister and who shall not. If we have a mind to do well; if we have a mind to carry our point, we must divest ourselves of all *party* notions; such notions are beneath us at all times, and especially at the present time: it is for our property, our personal liberty and safety; the peace, happiness, and greatness of our country, that we are carrying on this struggle; and if we suffer our views to degenerate into views of

mere party, we shall not only lose our object, but deserve to lose it. If I could have my choice; if I could have every-thing else that I wished in this reform, I should very much wish for Lord GREY to be the instrument, and to have the honour of accomplishing so great a good; because it is just that he should have that honour. Very nearly forty years ago he was a powerful advocate for the cause of reform. He has upon various occasions maintained that cause with great ability. Upon one occasion, (1794,) he said, in his place in the House of Commons, "If it be criminal to call upon the people to come forward and effect reform, I myself am guilty, since I do not scruple to assert, that from this House I have no hopes of parliamentary reform: this House will never reform itself, or destroy the corruption by which it is upheld, by any other means than those of the resolutions of the people, *acting on the prudence of the House*. This point they could only accomplish by meeting in large bodies, as recommended by Mr. PITT, in 1782." These are memorable words. How the large bodies were treated in 1817, 1818, and 1819, we all recollect; and we ought to recollect, also, that he always was the defender of those bodies. Therefore, I could wish, provided the reform were the same, that he were the instrument, and that he had the honour of it; but if the disagreeable party with whom he is united; or if any circumstance, no matter what, render it impracticable to have Parliamentary Reform from his hands; if we cannot have it from his hands without turmoil and danger, and if we can have it from other hands without any danger at all, let us, in God's name, take it from those others; always resolved to be contented with nothing less than that for which we are striving. Let us not care a straw about who has the minority and who the majority, so that there is a majority for giving us that which we want. To see the nation, after all this discussion and all this rousing, fall back into a crowd of partisans, disputing or

fighting for Whig or for Tory, is something too degrading to be thought of with any degree of patience. That sage Master in Chancery, MR. WILLIAM BROUGHAM, who so neatly shouldered out COLONEL JONES, is *apprehensive* that PEEL would give us the same plan of reform. Something very alarming to him and to his brother, perhaps, but by no means matter of alarm to us; and, therefore, my friends, be you on your guard. Strain every nerve to accomplish the object of reform, but waste not even a word or a breath with a view to keeping the present Ministers in power. Those Ministers have shown no disposition to diminish the amount of the taxes. They have shown no disposition to make any change worthy of notice in conducting the affairs of the country. We have no evidence of any disposition in them to treat us more mildly than we have been treated before. I agree with Mr. HUME, that it is right to forego all scrutiny into their conduct with regard to the fiscal affairs of the country, seeing that they had determined to give us a sort of parliament in which those affairs would naturally be discussed with advantage; but at any rate, they have not relieved us from any of our burdens; nor have they attempted to take off any tax without putting another on to the same amount. And the late ministers did take off a tax last year, and a very great tax too; they did free the country from that most monstrous oppression, the licensing system, which was a great benefit, even as a matter of political liberty. They did do this, and while these Ministers have attempted to do nothing of the sort, they manifestly were, before the Parliament was dissolved, actually taking steps for bringing back that *odious and oppressive system*. In the midst of the hubbub, this escaped the notice of the public in general; but there was Lord MELBOURNE very briskly engaged in issuing circulars to the lord-lieutenants to ascertain whether the Beer Bill had not been productive of *disorderly conduct in the people*! In short, this Ministry manifestly intended to bring us back to the licensing system; to subject us

again to that oppression from which the Ministry of the Duke had relieved us. Therefore, merely as a ministry, and leaving out the question of Reform, the former was the best beyond all comparison.

DOCTOR DOYLE, the Catholic Bishop of Ireland, has addressed a letter to the freeholders of the county in which he lives, urging them, in very forcible language, to come forward in support of the cause of Reform. A passage of this letter, which I take from *The Morning Chronicle*, is worthy of particular attention.

*An Oligarchy has usurped the just and Constitutional power and privileges of the King and People.* This usurpation has corrupted the Nobility, oppressed and impoverished the people. It has burdened the nation with an unsupportable debt—confirmed or introduced every imaginable abuse—and sustained them by foreign wars, internal corruption, and a system of taxation the most oppressive to human industry that was ever borne by any nation.—*This Oligarchy*, by very bad laws, has abridged the liberty of the subject, retarded the progress of every social improvement, and reduced the industrious and labouring classes of the community to difficulties—to distress—or to utter destitution. *They even attempted lately to cramp the freedom of the press*, that the complaints and sufferings of the aggrieved might not be known and circulated. But the people of the whole empire has revolted against this domination, and, headed by the *best of Kings* and a *virtuous ministry*, are now in a state of conflict with this Oligarchy, for the recovery of their rights.—The cause of the nation must be triumphant—this is certain as the rising of the sun—but whether that triumph shall be obtained by peaceable means, or through a sea of blood, depends mainly on the issue of the present elections. This issue, therefore, is a cause of life or death to the people—and the man is a traitor to his own interests—to the interests of his own children, and of his country, who does not exert whatever power or privileges he may possess to support the *best of Kings* and his ministers in their present contest with a powerful and despotic party.—Justice, honour, loyalty, the safety of the state, and the future peace and happiness of this country, are all committed on the present elections. If the people be wanting to themselves, oppression, bloodshed, and civil war, are, I fear, not far removed from us; if the cause of Reform succeed, peace and happiness await the country. I need not add, that whosoever is not pledged to support the King and his ministers, in their plan of Reform, is, in reality opposed to all Reform—for that Reform which is supported



by the Crown and its ministers can alone succeed by peaceful means.

I agree with Doctor Doyle; or, rather, the Doctor agrees with me; for I have all along urged the support of the ministers in the case of this bill; because that was the only means of obtaining parliamentary Reform without bloodshed. I perfectly agree with the Doctor, that there can be no peaceable Reform unless it be a Reform proposed and supported "*by the Crown and its ministers.*" But, the Crown will never be without ministers; and if these were turned out and others were to come in, and if the latter were to support a reform equally good with this very Reform, what possible objection could the Doctor have to such change? If the same men who gave Catholic Emancipation, were to come in to give us parliamentary Reform; and that, too, as in the former case, on a more extended scale than the one proposed by their predecessors, what objection could the Doctor have to a majority that would turn out these ministers? I cannot look at all the alarms of these Whigs without some suspicion. I see them in a most desperate humour: I see them alarmed for themselves: and I cannot help believing that their apprehensions arise from a conviction that their opponents will turn them out, take the business of Reform into their own hands, and carry it through without loss of time.

DOCTOR DOYLE has, however, a particular objection to the opponents of the Ministry. He is not very clear here, indeed. He calls the opponents of the measure an oligarchy; and says that this oligarchy "*even attempted lately to cramp the freedom of the press, that the complaints and sufferings of the people might not be circulated.*" The devil they did, Doctor! What a villanous oligarchy this must have been! But, Doctor, what would you say, now, if I were to show you that this is *precisely* what has been done by this "*virtuous Ministry,*" who, as you tell us, is now in a "*state of conflict with this oligarchy!*" Oh, no; I forgot, not *precisely*; for the oligarchy only "*attempted*" to cramp the

freedom of the press for this purpose; whereas the "*virtuous Ministry*" are *actually doing the thing!*

But this *Whig liberty of the press* is too important a matter to be passed over with this slight notice. The Ministerial papers are working double tides to enlist the people on the side of *their masters.* They want no enlisting on the side of *Reform*: that is *their own affair*: that they *will have*, let majorities be what they may. But it is feared by the *Whigs*, and not without reason, that the people *care nothing about them*; and that we would as lief, or rather, have Parliamentary Reform from PEEL as from them! This is *quite shocking* to think of! Therefore their hired press is working double tides to make us *struggle for the Whigs* as much as for Reform, or *more.* Amongst their efforts in this way are those which they are incessantly making to induce the nation to believe, that if Peel and his party were to come in again, the *liberty of the press would be totally destroyed.* Of the efforts of this sort the following, from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 4th of May, is a pretty good specimen: "The anti-reformers have a most arduous task on their hands. The nation condemns them, and the press, identified with the nation, is also their enemy. *Sir Robert Peel and Co. have announced a war ad internecionem against journals. They meditate nothing less than the crushing the press, as necessarily opposed to the designs which they entertain.* It might have been as well for his own interests, perhaps, if Sir Robert Peel had not revealed so openly his hatred against the press; but the revelation must satisfy the least discerning, that the accession of the party to power would be A TERRIBLE CALAMITY TO THE COUNTRY."

Indeed! Let every one speak well of the bridge that carries him safely over. I can say for myself that I wrote and published under the party of Peel twenty-one years, and under six Attorneys-General, called *Tories*; that I never heard of a prosecution all the while, from any one of them; and that

the Whigs had not been in power more than about *twenty-one days*, before a deadly-meant prosecution of me was begun; and now, at the end of only *six months*, there have been more prosecutions against the press, than during the *three years* that the Duke of Wellington was in power! So that, my friends, let us not alarm ourselves on *this score*: let us get the *Reform*, and then we shall have liberty of the press, be the Ministers who they may. Let us get *the Reform*, and all other good things will follow.

In conclusion of this long article, I cannot refrain from noticing the language of the Ministerial papers in the way of *denunciation* against their opponents. The old villanous *TIMES* tells *THE JUDGES*, that *they* hate reform, because they know that a reformed *Parliament would not let them have salaries of 5,500l. a year*. The *MORNING CHRONICLE* tells *SPENCER PERCEVAL* that he hates reform, that he is stung to madness *at the prospect of losing his sinecure place as Teller of the Exchequer*. The *COURIER* tells *BANKES*, that a reformed Parliament would *put an end to his son's hobnail arithmetic*; in other words, *take from him his sinecure of Cursitor Baron*. And this same *COURIER*, in the article above quoted from it, tells the proprietors of boroughs, that *THE MONEY THEY POSSESS IS NOT THEIR OWN*; but that it *BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE*, from whom they have taken it unjustly by means of their boroughs! The old *TIMES* tells the *PARSONS* that a reformed Parliament will "*look into their concerns*!"

Pretty well for "*loyal*" writers! Pretty well for enemies of *Radicals* and *Jacobins*! Pretty well for those who called for dungeoning and gagging-bills in 1817; and who called for a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, not more than four months ago! Go on, dear creatures! Go on, and you will soon leave "*the Jacobins*" very little to do. But, obliging creatures, do not, in your hurry, forget that *sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander*; and that you have some few sine-

cure placemen and Boroughmongers *on your side* also. You mean, I hope, that a reformed Parliament will be *impartial*? You have, if I mistake not, even a *Teller of the Exchequer* amongst you. And if the money of anti-reform boroughmongers is not *their own*, you will hardly contend that the money possessed by reforming borough-mongers is *their own*. You have mentioned, by name, the Dukes of *Northumberland* and *Rutland*. I shall mention no names; but a reformed Parliament, if you were to urge it into such an inquest, would find out, I fancy, some names *on your side*, and, amongst the rest, a snug little group, who have always been "*as still as a sow in beans*;" and yet who have, by the means of *one little rotten hole*, contrived to get *about 400,000l. in the course of the last forty years*! The group are now excellent reformers no doubt: *cela s'entend*; that is understood: but, this does not make the money *their own*, if it be not their own now; and, if it be *their own*, what right have you to say, that the money of the *others* is not *their own*? Take a little care, therefore. You are very obliging creatures; but do not, in your haste, forget, that "*what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander*;" which, though a *vulgar* maxim, is, nevertheless, a very sound one.

And when you are menacing the *parsons* with the *acts of a reformed Parliament*, if they do not choose *PALMERSTON* and *CAVENDISH*, you should recollect that, if once urged to go to work to take *tithes* from parsons, such Parliament might inquire whether *the tithes of twenty parishes* ought to be possessed by *ONE DUKE*! and whether that Duke being all of a sudden become a *reformer*, would make it any more proper for him to continue to take the said tithes. Therefore, dear, obliging creatures, while I hope you will proceed on in your present course, pray do not forget, that "*sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander*."

Laugh, my friends, at all this, with your faithful friend and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.



## HOUSE OF LORDS.

April 22.

Their Lordships began to assemble at two o'clock, principally dressed in their robes. Among the earliest in attendance were the Duke of Cumberland, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Durham, Lord Clanricarde, Earl Grey, and Lord Wharncliffe, whose motion for an address to his Majesty not to dissolve Parliament, stood for this day. The greater part of their Lordships, however, were unrobed, on account of the suddenness of the announcement of the King's intention to come down to the House. The number of Peers in attendance was very great. A considerable number of peeresses were seated on the Opposition Benches. Prayers were read at half-past two by the Bishop of Exeter. The following sentence was taken as applicable to passing events:—"Let the people praise thee; yea, let the whole people praise thee."

The LORD CHANCELLOR entered the House at twenty minutes before three o'clock, and immediately took his seat.

The Duke of GORDON presented a Petition from the Royal Borough of Forres against Reform. (Great laughter.)

The LORD CHANCELLOR left the Woolsack, and withdrew into the room behind, in which he was to receive his Majesty.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, on the motion of the Earl of Mansfield, was immediately called to the Chair.

On taking the Chair,

Lord WHARNCLIFFE rose and said, he believed there was no duty—

The Duke of RICHMOND immediately rose to order, and said, that he should move that the standing order of the House be read, that noble lords should be seated in their proper places (cries of Hear, hear; and Order, order!); for he observed a noble Duke sitting next to one of the junior Barons. (Who the Duke was we could not make out; but we believe the Duke of Wellington. The noble Baron alluded to was Lord Lyndhurst.)

The Marquis of Londonderry rose to order.

The Marquis of Clanricarde also rose to order at the same time.

The Lord Chief Baron also rose, but the noise was so great that it was impossible to ascertain what the noble Lord said. We believe he objected to the conduct of the Duke of Richmond.

The Duke of RICHMOND said, that if such language was made use of in that House, he should also move that the standing order be read that no offensive language should be used by noble lords in that House. (Hear, hear, hear! and great confusion, amidst which the Marquis of Londonderry's voice was uppermost, calling out that he rose to order.)

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY would be glad to know from the noble Duke opposite, what offensive language had been made use of by the noble Chief Baron?

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE called out that the noble Duke under him had not said

the noble Chief Baron had used offensive language.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY observed, that if the noble Duke thought he was to be the only hero in this *coup d'état*, he would find himself very much mistaken. If the noble Duke wished to prevent their lordships from speaking, he would find himself mistaken. (Loud cries of Order of the Day! Lord Wharncliffe standing on the floor.)

Something like silence having been obtained,

Lord WHARNCLIFFE said, he was in his situation as a peer of that House, and he should take the liberty of demanding to be heard. He had given notice of a motion which he would not then preface with any observations, but which he would, according to the notice, take leave to read. The terms of the motion were to this effect:—That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, representing that his loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, had heard with anxiety the report that a dissolution of Parliament was about to take place, and imploring his Majesty not to prorogue or dissolve Parliament at the present juncture, as under the present excitement which prevailed in Ireland, and throughout Great Britain, it would be likely to lead to great danger to the Crown, and prevent that calm and deliberate discussion which the importance of such an event demanded.

The LORD CHANCELLOR at this moment entered the House, and immediately addressing it, said, with great emphasis—"I never yet heard that the Crown ought not to dissolve Parliament whenever it thought fit, particularly at the moment when the House of Commons had thought fit to take the extreme and unprecedented step of refusing supplies" (loud cries of Hear, hear! and also at the same time cries of The King! the King! and altogether immense confusion. The Lord Chancellor immediately left the House to receive the King before his entering to take his seat on the throne.)

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY called loudly again, and his calls were accompanied by those of others, for the Earl of Shaftesbury to take the Chair.

The Earl of SHAFTESBURY took the Chair amidst cries of "Order, order! chair, chair! Order of the day, order of the day! shame, shame, shame! the King, the King!" It is impossible to describe the confusion, the noise, and impetuosity that prevailed from one end of the House to the other. No election meeting could present a greater scene of confusion short of one in which actual blows were passing. The Peeresses present seemed alarmed. Some of the Peers were, as it appeared to us in the confusion, almost scuffling, and shook their hands at each other as if in great anger. At last

Lord MANSFIELD obtained a hearing, and said that he never, in the whole course of his life, had witnessed such a scene, and he

trusted he should never see the like again. He had heard with astonishment, from the noble and learned Lord, that it was incumbent on the King to dissolve Parliament when the House of Commons had taken the extreme and unprecedented step of refusing supplies. He desired to use no intemperate expression; but, as far as God had given him, perhaps, an imperfect share of understanding, he felt that the King and the country were now about to be placed in a most awful predicament, such as they never had been in before. He would not accuse his Majesty's Ministers with anything like a want of charity, but he did accuse them of weakness, and of conspiring together against the safety of the State, and of making the Sovereign the instrument of his own destruction. (Loud cries of hear, hear, and great confusion.) Upon the question of Reform he had not stated his opinion, because the bill had not been before that House, and because he could not trust himself to speak upon it. He thought too that the probability was, that the Bill never would come there, that it must, as in fact it had done, close the last of those inglorious aberrations, those untried theories, those untenable speculations in which the Ministers had indulged, who had been merely distinguished for incapacity such as was never observed before. (Cheers from one part of the House.) The dissolution of Parliament was one of the measures suggested by a faction in a disturbed country. It was the result of the Councils of those who had advised the King to adopt a plan of Reform, such as they themselves had never before thought of, and such as they had never hoped to carry even when they presented it to Parliament, presenting it merely to show that they redeemed their pledge, and applying, at the same time, with mendicant intimidation to their antagonists to suggest a better plan. It was not, in fact a dissolution of Parliament they now meant, but it was what they themselves candidly confessed they wished to have—namely, a reformed House of Parliament. And why did they want a reformed House of Parliament? To gratify, they said, the people. But what did the petitions of the people pray for? They prayed, indeed, for a reform of Parliament, but they prayed for that which they expected it would give them. Their desire, in the first instance, was to have a reduction of taxes, which they knew could not take place without a previous reduction of the National Debt; next the reduction of sinecures, next the reduction of salaries, and next the appropriation of that species of property which has hitherto been called Church property, to an entirely different purpose. First of all, too, they wanted that every householder in the kingdom, paying scot and lot, should have a vote, and that that vote should be by ballot, which they, in their reformed view, considered right. Now, he was ready as a Peer to give his advice to the King, and if he were censured for having interested views, he could not complain, because much more worthy persons than

himself had been similarly misrepresented. He had thought it his duty to state to his Majesty, and his Majesty had been most graciously pleased to hear him, that if he should be unfortunately advised to assist the progress of the measure of Reform that had been introduced into the House of Commons, that should he give it his assent, even in a considerably amended shape, though he could not predict either the manner or the gradations of the attack, yet that he (Lord Mansfield) was certain an attack would immediately afterwards be made upon the credit of the country, upon the National Debt, upon the privileges and upon the existence of that House, and, at last, upon the privileges of the Crown itself; those privileges which the Crown did not hold for its own benefit, but for the happiness and interests of the people, with which it was closely and intimately connected. He had a pleasure in repeating this at a time when popular clamour was at its height, and if, in his warmth he had expressed anything that was personally offensive to any individual—(Here cries of "*The King, the King, the King*," were heard, and a loud voice sounding out, "*God save the King*," and at that instant the large doors were thrown open on the right hand side of the throne.)

Silence having been obtained, *though not till one or two clamorous expressions must have reached the Royal ear*, his Majesty, accompanied by his attendants, entered the House. His Majesty mounted the throne with a firm step, seated himself, and immediately bowed to those on the right and left, saying he begged their Lordships to be seated.

His Majesty was surrounded by a numerous body of the Royal Household. Earl Grey bore the Sword of State, and the Lord Chancellor stood at the King's right hand, holding the Purse bearing the Great Seals. His Majesty wore the uniform of an Admiral beneath the Royal Robes, and looked, we are happy to say, remarkably well.

The Commons were summoned to attend at the bar, and soon appeared, preceded by Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. The Speaker was accompanied by about 100 Members, who rushed in so tumultuously that the Speaker was *twice or thrice obliged to call them to order*.

The place below the bar was now completely crowded, and considerable confusion momentarily ensued.

The SPEAKER, on reaching the bar, brought up the Civil List Bill and several others, and on presenting them, prefaced his doing so with a brief Address to the King.

The great crowd and confusion below the bar prevented us hearing the few words spoken by the right hon. Gentleman.

Several Bills then received the Royal Assent, amongst which were the Civil List Bill, the County Rates Bill, the River Wye Navigation Bill, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Bill, the Preston Railway Bill, and a great number of private Bills.



The sight at this moment was very imposing, when it is considered that the Three Estates of the Realm were assembled on perhaps the most important occasion in the history of the country. The great act of prorogation was then proceeded with. His Majesty, putting on his glasses, read the speech (which we gave in last week's *Register*,) in the most firm, distinct, and audible manner.

As soon as his Majesty had concluded, he descended from the throne and retired.

The Members of the House of Commons left the House of Peers. The Peers gradually retired, and thus ended the sittings of the Parliament which began by ousting the Duke of Wellington's Ministry for opposing Reform, and ended by refusing the supplies to a Ministry that is friendly to Reform.

His Majesty immediately proceeded to the Palace, and was again every where greeted on his return with enthusiastic cheers. The people calling out, "Down with Borough-mongering," "We thank your Majesty," "God bless your Majesty for thinking of your people," "Long live King William."

### TITHES.

I BEG my readers to pay particular attention to the following report of proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, yesterday.

Sir JAMES SCARLETT applied to the Court on behalf of the *Rev. Dr. Knatchbull*, Rector of the parish of *Aldington*, in the county of *Kent*, for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against a *Mr. Edward Epps*, Churchwarden of that parish, for a libel on the Rector. The publication was one of those which had been lately so common, charging the clergy with rigour and oppression in the exaction of tithes. Doctor Knatchbull in his affidavit stated, that in 1824 he had made a composition with his parishioners for their tithes for that year, which they appeared to think reasonable. In the year 1825 he granted a lease of his tithes at the sum of 623*l.* to two persons, by the landlord of one of whom he had been offered 650*l.*, and this certainly did not look like any wish to ask for his tithes any amount which could be considered as unreasonable or oppressive. In 1826 he leased the tithes to a *Mr. Mills*, at a sum of 616*l.*, at which sum they had been valued by two persons well qualified to judge of the subject, and he decidedly negatived the imputation of having made any undue or oppressive exaction for the tithes of his parish. But in a number of *The Kent Herald* of February last, most unjust and unfounded imputations on him for oppressive exaction of tithes were published, and these had been traced to *Mr. Epps*, the Churchwarden, who was given up as the author by the printer. First, it was stated, that at a public Meeting of the parishioners,

*Mr. Epps*, Churchwarden, in the chair, it had been resolved—1st. That tithes were now applied to other purposes than those for which they had been originally given. 2dly. That the tithes were now exacted with peculiar harshness and rigour in this parish—that a composition had been demanded three times the amount of that which had existed eight years ago, and that at last they were taken in kind. Suppose it had been so, Doctor Knatchbull would have done no more than what he had a perfect right to do. But he had only leased his tithes as before-mentioned. Then a third Resolution was passed, "That the want of employment for the labourers was the existence of the tithe laws, and the severity with which tithes were exacted." The next step would be, to resolve that the exaction of rent was the cause of the labourers wanting employment, and to that point things appeared to be rapidly tending. Then followed a petition, in the same strain with the resolutions, to be presented to both Houses of Parliament. If the public mind were to be continually filled with attacks of this nature on tithes, it was impossible that it should not be followed by agitation and breach of the peace; and these persevering calumnious attacks on the clergy must lead to the same result.

This is a most interesting affair; and we ought to watch the progress of it very narrowly. I should like to have a copy of the resolutions at full length, and of the petition. What! must we not state the notorious truth, that tithes are not now applied to the purposes for which they were originally given? Must we not say, even in a petition to Parliament, that want of employment arises from the tithe-system? If *Mr. Epps* have published any thing impeaching the moral honesty or good character of *Parson Knatchbull*, or have, in any way, calumniated him, that is another matter; but, with regard to the tithe-system, that may be complained of and published against without any crime. It will be complained of and published against, let *Parson Knatchbull* do what he may.

### THE ELECTIONS.

As far as I can judge, there will be a great majority FOR THE BILL, if the Red List hold good. Palmerston and his partner will be beaten; but that is very little. The fear, or, rather, the doubt, that I have all along had, is, that

the *Red List*, though it may again vote for the *second reading*, will not vote for the *clauses*, without great changes in them. The parliament cannot be dissolved again on the same ground; and even if Eurdett's recommendation were followed, and the rotten holes were shut out, that would not *give a majority in the Lords*. Yet, the bill, or something equally satisfactory to the nation, will certainly be passed. It does not follow that there will not be a *change of ministry first*; and I really think that this is probable; for the out-party is the *strongest* beyond all comparison, and they *may* say, Since the thing *must be done*, we will do it ourselves; since there is to be this *great change*, *let us put ourselves at the head of it*. Now I think this *probable*. I think that I see signs of it in the elections themselves, in a great many instances. The *declining to visit the city*; the alarm of the Whigs at the *affair of the Admiralty*, a thing so trifling in itself; the clerks in the government offices *openly opposing their masters*. There are several other things; but here are enough to show, that there is on foot some party-intrigue of a pretty determined character.

### THE KING AND CITY.

(From the *Morning Chronicle* of 5th May.)

A report has been industriously circulated in the city, that his Majesty *has declined the invitation* of his loyal citizens to honour them with his royal presence, in consequence of *certain calumnies against the city authorities*, lately published in *The Morning Post*. They who know any thing of his Majesty have too high an opinion of the soundness and strength of his judgment, to believe for a moment that he would allow his judgment to be biassed against the authorities of his loyal city by the anonymous calumnies in a daily print. We are sure that no man would treat these calumnious attempts with more contempt than his Majesty. It is *no doubt true* that his Majesty *has intimated his wish that the invitation might be postponed for a time*; but the reason is a very different one from that so maliciously assigned. His Majesty is at present *afflicted with the gout*, and therefore *unable to accept of the invitation*. But we are sure, if he were not prevented by a cause (the existence of which every good sub-

ject must lament), he is too sensible of the loyalty and devotion of his good citizens towards him—of the gratitude they have evinced towards their benefactor, not to be anxious to make the gratifying return of gladdening them by his presence, and that he will not fail to announce his acceptance of their invitation as soon as he feels himself in a condition in which *he can receive the city authorities*. The accounts so industriously circulated to which we have alluded *have received no countenance from his Majesty*. We are certain nothing would give him greater pain than the knowledge that such a construction has been put on his *lamented indisposition*. These are the pitiful inventions of wicked men, anxious to produce misunderstandings between the KING and the most loyal and devoted of his subjects.

My readers are not such fools as to be gulled by this story; but, lest they should be *alarmed* at the news of this "*lamented indisposition*," I have to inform them, which I do with great pleasure, that the King *rode by my house yesterday*, first into town from Windsor, and afterwards from town to Windsor; that he was alone; that he *sat forward* in the carriage; and that he looked as if exceedingly well in health. Indeed, the very paper which contains the above story contains an account of his *holding a levee yesterday!* The account of the levee contains not a word about *the gout!* What *really* are the King's reasons for not visiting the city, I neither know nor care; but when *false* reasons are given, it is to be presumed that the parties *do not like to state the true ones*. The people, however, should take care *not to be deluded*; and, since the story of the gout is so flagrantly false, it is worth while for us to think a little of the *real reasons*.

From the *Morning Chronicle* of the 5th of May.

We earnestly beg the *especial attention* of the Government to the electioneering conduct of certain individuals. Can any thing be more indecent, for instance, than persons in the *Ordnance department* counteracting the wishes of his Majesty's government, and actually *canvassing against them*? Again—a certain Mr. D. WRANGHAM goes down to oppose the Government candidate at Sudbury, and yet he is a clerk in the *Foreign-office*. Surely such men are not to be retained in such places, which they use *against their employers!* They *must retire*, and if not, they will, we take it, be *forced to give way to friends*. No Government can go on well—or indeed at all—that neglects the *ordinary means of self-preservation*.



This is, indeed, a very curious matter. What! a clerk in the *Foreign Office* going and *driving out the government candidate!* Well; but will he come back and *vote against the Government?* To be sure he will. This is strange work. These persons, thus acting, clearly prove what *they think* at any rate; clearly prove that they think that their present masters *will not be masters long.* They may deceive themselves, and their opinions about *reform* are not worth a straw, but their opinions about *the capacity of their masters*, and about *the chances of their being turned out*, are worth a good deal; and they never would act thus, if they did not expect them to be turned out very shortly. They may deceive themselves; but that this is *their opinion* no one can doubt.

*From the Morning Chronicle of the 5th of May.*

THE JUDGES AGAIN.—As for Judges, we never yet heard of *such an outrage to all decorum* as some of these have lately committed. Now, we should like to know, can such *political partisans be sent to try political causes at the approaching assizes?* What chance of fair play would a libel connected with reform, say an election rioter, have, when tried by such men?

Let us hear no more, then, about "*jacobins.*" This is from a ministerial paper, mind!

*From the same Paper.*

While on this matter, we must be allowed to lament the ill-judged zeal, if, indeed, it were not the treacherous malice, which, in the absence of the First Lord, caused the Admiralty-office to be lighted up last Wednesday. Surely no public office ought to have taken any part in the rejoicings. The act of dissolving was one of justice, policy, and even state necessity. But after the King had thanked the Parliament for some part, at least, of these supplies, his servants ought not to bear any part in the rejoicings at that Parliament's dismissal. Again, we would recommend inquiry into this matter, and to see who gave the order.

Oh, oh! Ah! are you drawing in your horns! Better not have put them out, may be! There is a fright here. Who does not see that this is connected with the King's declining to visit the city? These papers said nothing against this before. "*Inquiry into the matter!*" "*Who gave the order!*" Nonsense: say, at once, that the thing

has given offence to the King; for that is clearly the case; aye, and the refractory clerks know this very well. This is a very curious matter. It forebodes something that we cannot yet see, but of which, if we look out sharp, we shall soon get a glimpse. *Reform* we shall have; but from *what hands*, I will, on no account, swear, and, so that it be *nothing less than the bill*, I am sure I do not care.

### MORE OF THE KING.

SINCE writing the above (now Thursday night) I see the following in the MORNING HERALD. I have no time? or comment. Pray read with attention, and you will plainly see that there is "*something in the wind!*" Pay particular attention to the parts which I have marked by *Italic characters.* And bear in mind that *I saw the King yesterday in perfect health;* that my eyes were not at a greater distance than eighteen feet, or six yards, from the face of his Majesty; and that my eyes are clear and good. Bear these things in mind, read with attention, and then you will not be humbugged.

"Yesterday was the day on which  
"the civic authorities *were to have had*  
"the honour of waiting upon the King,  
"to invite his Majesty and the Queen  
"to dine with the corporation of London on the 20th instant, at Guildhall.  
"When it transpired, as it did, in  
"the course of the evening, that the  
"Lord Mayor and Sheriffs had not proceeded to the royal presence to execute  
"this agreeable mission, the *greatest*  
"surprise and anxiety were expressed,  
"and loyal anticipations were succeeded  
"by the most painful conjectures. It  
"was soon reported that his Majesty  
"had changed his mind once more as  
"to dining in the City, and that this  
"was communicated to the civic deputations previously to the day appointed for waiting on the King, to spare them the mortification of an open refusal. We have inquired into the circumstances, and will lay before

"our readers such information as we have obtained.

"It is true that the civic authorities *did not wait upon the King*, and that, consequently, no formal invitation has yet been given to their Majesties for the dinner on the 20th. The reason is, that the Lord Mayor received, as we understand, on the previous evening, a communication from the Secretary of State for the Home Department, informing his Lordship that the King having *lately* experienced *some symptoms of the return of gout*, to which he is subject, it was doubtful whether his health might not make it necessary to postpone his intended visit to the City to another day, and therefore it would be better *for the present* to defer the invitation. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, acting upon this communication, abstained, of course, from seeking the interview with which the sovereign had previously signified his intention of honouring them, and here *the matter rests for the present*.

"But public rumour *will not let it rest here*; the fears of some, and the malignant invention of others, will be prolific of false reports relative to this unexpected, but, we trust, only momentary obstacle to his Majesty's second intended visit to his faithful and *affectionate* subjects, the citizens of London. Severely indeed would the disappointment be felt, if at the present crisis, when his Majesty's popularity is boundless, and when the inhabitants of this great metropolis are most anxious to testify their heartfelt gratitude for his manly and energetic conduct in dissolving a Parliament which counteracted the wishes of the country, any thing should occur to deprive them of the expected opportunity of receiving him with the honours, the gratulations, and the hospitality, which his *personal and regal virtues* so eminently deserved. If such an event arose from indisposition, it would, indeed, *afflict* his subjects; for never was the health of a sovereign more precious to his people; but, at the

present moment, as the King is still able to hold levees, and to make the journey between London and Windsor, there appears *no serious cause of alarm* as to his Majesty's health.

"We cannot believe that any of the *groundless and malicious* publications which have lately emanated from a certain portion of the press could have the effect intended—that of *intimidating the Royal mind* through the apprehension of tumults and disorder. It is not for a Monarch who prides himself in the name of a British sailor, and who has been the friend and companion of the immortal Nelson, to be *so easily daunted*, and driven from his manly purpose, by the 'weak inventions of the enemy.' When he acted upon the advice which unfortunately induced him to disappoint the loyal expectations of the citizens of London last November, he was surrounded by an *incapable and unpopular Ministry*, who felt that they had provoked the expression of public displeasure, and dreaded to encounter it. They did not wish the Sovereign to see how strongly the current of opinion had set in against them, and they risked the King's popularity, in order to escape from having it unpleasantly contrasted with the degree of public odium they had brought upon themselves, in the face of his Majesty and the assembled inhabitants of London. How *different now* is the King's situation! With a popular Ministry, pledged to the great measure of reform, and a nation not gloomy, desponding, and discontented, but full of joy at the present, and hope for the future, *what cause can there be* for his Majesty again withdrawing from his engagement, and declining to renew that sort of social and kindly intercourse which the Kings of Great Britain, until of late years, always made it a point to keep up with the citizens of the capital of their dominions? Surely there can be *no cause* but that which we have stated, namely, *indisposition*; but, unless that (which heaven forbid!)



"were more severe than circumstances  
"can allow us to believe, we are quite  
"convinced it would not be con-  
"sidered by the people in general as a  
"sufficient explanation of a second dis-  
"appointment.

"The anti-reform papers, which pub-  
"lished a copy of a hand-bill in the  
"name of the Lord Mayor, stating  
"that on the night of the illuminations  
"the City Police had orders to confine  
"their care to keeping the carriage-  
"ways free, and that, therefore, they  
"could not be expected to protect the  
"premisses of such persons as shall be  
"so disrespectful to public opinion as  
"to form an exception to the general  
"conduct expected from free citizens,"  
"intended, no doubt, to excite an un-  
"pleasant feeling in the King's mind  
"towards the Chief Magistrate of Lon-  
"don, and to make him distrust all  
"those whose duty it was to protect  
"the peace; but it will be seen, from  
"our report of proceedings in the King's  
"Bench yesterday, that this hand-bill  
"is sworn to be a false and fabricated  
"document. Whether the papers that  
"published it did so knowingly, or were  
"the dupes of some craftier contrivers,  
"remains to be seen. It appears, how-  
"ever, there is no such printer in  
"Clerkenwell-green as he whose name  
"is affixed to it. We do not mean to  
"prejudge a case which is now about  
"to undergo the investigation of a  
"Court of Justice, and shall leave it at  
"present in hands that will no doubt  
"satisfactorily dispose of it.

"Before we conclude, we cannot  
"avoid observing that if the King  
"should, on any other ground than  
"such a degree of illness as would  
"make it imprudent to go into com-  
"pany, postpone again to some indefi-  
"nite time his visit to Guildhall, it  
"may have the most disastrous effect  
"upon the remaining elections. It may  
"induce the people to lend too ready  
"an ear to those traducers of their  
"Sovereign, who even now do not  
"hesitate to insinuate that he is not  
"sincerely friendly to the Reform Bill!  
"Such an impression would assuredly  
"dishearten the people, by making

"them suppose their hopes of constitu-  
"tional redress was lost. They might  
"suppose that the advocates of a cor-  
"rupt and venal system of representa-  
"tion had found out the way of exer-  
"cising some secret influence over the  
"Royal mind. But we have a firm  
"confidence that William IV. will be  
"true to a cause on which depend the  
"happiness of his people and the pros-  
"perity of his empire."

*The Courier's remarks on the above.*

"The prompt and energetic conduct  
"of the King in the dissolution of Par-  
"liament, must have convinced the  
"people that he is a staunch friend to  
"reform; and, therefore, the postpone-  
"ment of his visit to the city, even if  
"there were no ground for the report  
"of bodily indisposition, could have no  
"effect upon the remaining elections.  
"We have elsewhere stated a sufficient  
"reason for this postponement, inde-  
"pendently of the gout with which his  
"Majesty is afflicted, and which, al-  
"though it may allow him to get  
"through a levee, is not quite the thing  
"for a convivial party; but, besides all  
"this, is it not prudent to defer the in-  
"tended visit for a time, and so give  
"no opportunity to the anti-reformists  
"to say, that their property has been  
"again endangered by the King's Mi-  
"nisters? Is the question, whether the  
"King shall drive to Guildhall on the  
"20th of May or the 20th of June, one of  
"real importance, as compared with the  
"propriety of abstaining from every un-  
"necessary cause of excitement? And  
"how do we know that some other atro-  
"cious forgery, like that against the  
"Lord Mayor, which has been de-  
"nounced, might not be attempted,  
"and, on its detection, lead to deserved,  
"but calamitous outrage? Let us wait  
"quietly until the elections are over;  
"and, above all, rest confident in the  
"sincerity and patriotism of the King.  
"He is above suspicion."

Now, do, pray, mark all this! It is  
a shocking job altogether! For, they  
say, that the Lord Mayor was to be made  
a Baronet yesterday, as a preliminary  
step to the visit! Here is all the feast-

ing and finery blowed up; and there is no *Lady Key*! Oh! the devil! And all blowed up so *suddenly* too! Why, my readers, we must be mere brute beasts not to see what it is that is *at the bottom of all this*. The Lord Mayor has shown great zeal in the cause of reform; the city has put out Mr. Ward; the city rejoiced at the dismissal of the Parliament; the city is *resolutely bent on reform*. The King must *see all this* as well as other people: and the King, seeing it all, *declines to visit the city*. Judge you, my readers, for yourselves, now that you have the facts before you.

In the meanwhile the LORD MAYOR, who seems to ascribe this disappointment of the *Morning Post* newspaper, is, as will be seen by the following report of proceedings in the COURT OF KING'S BENCH, "*taking the law*" of the offender. What a turmoil, good God! What a piece of work about this visit to the city! Read the following with attention.

#### CRIMINAL INFORMATION.

##### EX-PARTE THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

"The ATTORNEY-GENERAL applied to the Court on the behalf the Lord Mayor of London, for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against Mr. Byrne, the Editor, and Mr. Payne, the publisher, of the *Morning Post* newspaper, for libels published against him in that paper of Friday and Saturday last. In the leading article of Friday it was alleged, 'that on Wednesday night bands of the lowest ruffians, with the connivance of our liberal Ministry, and under the authority of their still more liberal Lord Mayor, paraded the principal streets of the metropolis, destroying the property of its most peaceful inhabitants.' And afterwards it went on to state, 'that the Chief Magistrate of the city—but yesterday the whining deprecator of the people's indignation—now, by the people's grace, the lordly arbiter of our lives and property, thinks proper to ordain a general illumination, and, with the permission or the tacit acquiescence of the noble Secretary,

places in imminent peril the lives and property of those who are not content to obey his shameful edict. In a subsequent part of the same article, there were the following words:—'The criminal conduct of the Lord Mayor, in causing the peace of the metropolis to be disturbed, and property to be demolished to the amount of thousands, by his atrocious order to illuminate on Wednesday, will not, we hope and trust, be suffered to pass unnoticed or unpunished.' The article proceeded to dwell on what was called the atrocious conduct of the Lord Mayor, and added, 'Yet, so far from making any attempt to protect the peaceable citizens against outrage, the order issued on the occasion had a tendency directly the reverse; for the police were forbidden otherwise to interfere on the occasion, than to keep the way clear for carriages. Was such conduct on the part of a Chief Magistrate ever before witnessed in this or any other country? And shall such unprecedented criminals be suffered to go unpunished?' &c. And then in a separate passage came this paragraph:—

"The following iniquitous notice was extensively circulated in the city previously to the illumination:—

#### "ILLUMINATION.

"The Lord Mayor gives notice that on the present occasion of general rejoicing, the City Police have orders to confine their care to keeping the carriage-ways free, and that therefore they cannot be expected to protect the premises of such persons as shall be so disrespectful to public opinion as to form an exception to the general conduct expected from free citizens. "N.B. The country police have the same orders.

"Bourne, Printer, Clerkenwell-green. "Was this, or was this not, we ask, a direct encouragement and incitement to every description of outrage and destruction? Let the Lord Mayor give an answer. Had thousands of lives been sacrificed, where would the moral guilt have rested? On whose



"head would that blood have cried out  
"for vengeance?"

"The leading article of the paper of  
"Saturday proceeded to inveigh against  
"the atrocious conduct of the Lord  
"Mayor, in the same style. Now, on  
"the subject of the illumination, the  
"Lord Mayor stated, in his affidavit,  
"that he gave no such order for the  
"illumination as he was here alleged to  
"have given, nor had he given any  
"encouragement whatever to any im-  
"propriety, although he had expressed  
"his concurrence in the great principle  
"on which his Majesty had dissolved  
"the last Parliament. But it ought  
"not to be forgotten that his Majesty,  
"in his speech for the prorogation of the  
"Parliament, with a view to its disso-  
"lution, had thanked the Parliament  
"for the provision which they had  
"made for his Royal Consort, and,  
"therefore, he should have thought  
"that there were no grounds for any  
"personal feelings of animosity in any  
"quarter. But on the subject of the  
"illumination, the Lord Mayor stated  
"that he heard on Monday that there  
"was to be an illumination, and, al-  
"though he had not ordered it, yet he  
"did commence some preparations to  
"illuminate the Mansion House. He  
"was then waited upon by several re-  
"spectable citizens, who stated that  
"they had no time to make prepara-  
"tions, and they requested that it  
"might be postponed till Wednesday,  
"and he accordingly gave notice to  
"that effect, and he, at the same time,  
"gave strict orders to the police to  
"protect the persons and properties of  
"the citizens, in case there should ap-  
"pear any disposition to injure them;  
"and he himself paraded the streets,  
"and did not leave them till between  
"two and three o'clock in the morn-  
"ing, when the crowd had wholly dis-  
"persed. But as to this notice, men-  
"tioned in this paper, he utterly denied  
"having issued it, or having any con-  
"nexion with, or knowledge of it what-  
"ever. He had caused every inquiry  
"to be made that possibly could be  
"made, and was utterly unable to dis-  
"cover that any such notice or hand-

"bill had been circulated or stuck  
"upon any wall, or published in any  
"other way. He stated that he never  
"saw nor heard of such a notice till he  
"saw it in the columns of the *Morning*  
"*Post*, and that he was verily per-  
"suaded that it was an atrocious for-  
"gery, got up for the purpose of ca-  
"lumniating him. He also stated,  
"that he had caused inquiry to be  
"made at Clerkenwell-green, in order  
"to discover the person of the name  
"of Bourne, whose name appeared in  
"the placard as printer, but that no  
"such printer could be discovered  
"there, nor probably any-where else.  
"He hoped their Lordships would  
"think that he had shown abundant  
"ground for the rule."

LORD TENTERDEN—Take a rule to  
show cause.

Now, I do hope that the Lord Mayor  
will not push this thing on against the  
*Post*. He is *sore* under the *disappoint-*  
*ment*; but he must be convinced, that  
it was *not the Post* that caused this dis-  
appointment. And as to any injury to  
the *character* of the Lord Mayor, it is  
nonsense to think of it. There is not a  
man in England who believes that the  
Lord Mayor put out such a hand-bill.  
To be sure it is wrong to invent and  
publish such falsehoods; but let the  
Lord Mayor thing a little of what is going  
on through the other part of the press.  
Let him look at the violence that reigns  
every-where; let him look at the lan-  
guage of the *CHRONICLE* and the *TIMES*;  
let him observe that nobody and nothing  
is spared; let him treat such attacks  
with silent disdain, and not show  
anger by criminal prosecutions or any  
prosecutions. The people of these  
cities are pleased with his conduct.  
Here are a million of people assembled  
together that approve of his conduct;  
what need he care then for the barkings  
of a cur of the boroughmongers? Now,  
mind, if the Lord Mayor do not follow  
this advice of mine, he will be sorry  
for it hereafter. What need he care for  
the disappointment? It is quite honour  
enough to be chief magistrate of the  
city of London; and with that honour  
he ought to be content. At any rate, I

trust he will drop this prosecution, which, if pursued, he may be sure, will be attended with great mortification to him.

### SEEDS

*For Sale at my Shop, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.*

**LOCUST SEED.**—Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound, received from America about two months ago. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivation; for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "**WOODLANDS**;" or **TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD.** 8vo. 14s.

**SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.**—Any quantity under 10lbs. 10d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 9d. a pound; above 100lbs. 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. This seed was growed last year at Barn-Elm, on ridges six feet apart; two rows, a foot apart, on each ridge. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look; and that one I pulled

up and threw away. So that I warrant this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

**MANGEL WURZEL SEED.** Any quantity under 10lb., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lb. and under 50lb., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lb., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lb., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also growed at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth in Sussex: and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.

**COBBETT'S CORN.**—Having to quit my farm at Michaelmas, I could have no Corn there; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop I ever saw. The Tom Tit has said, that it is "*a complete failure*," and a great bleating beast, that is now laughed at by all the world, has been bawling about Lancashire, that this corn is "*not fit for a hog to eat, though I want the poor people to live on it.*" The answer to poor envious Tommy Tit is given by the beautiful crop that I have now on sale as seed. The answer



to the malignant bleating beast might be given in *one very short word*. The great use of this corn is to the labourers. On ten rods of ground I have, this very adverse year, grewed eight bushels of shelled corn; and that is sufficient to fat a pig of seven or eight score. Suppose the like comes, on an average, from 20 rods, is not this a great blessing for a labouring man? It is in this light that I have always viewed this corn as of the greatest importance. I have a room at Bolt Court, hung all over the walls with bunches of it. Those bunches would fat a good large hog; and I never look at it without most anxiously hoping to see the day, when the greater part of English labourers' dwellings will be decorated in the same manner. The thing to do is to distribute a little seed amongst the labourers. In the *Two-Penny Trash for April*, I gave them instructions for the planting and management and application of this corn. I should be glad to cause to be distributed, 200 ears of the corn amongst the labourers of each of the counties of *Berks, Bucks, Wilts, Hants, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Gloucester*, as a mark of my wish to see them once more have bacon to eat instead of accursed potatoes, and 500 ears amongst those of the county of *Kent*, as a mark of my particular regard for the labourers of that famous county, the first that was trodden by the feet of the saints, and that never was trodden under the hoof of a conqueror. I do not know very well how to accomplish this distribution. If any gentleman, whom I know, in each of the aforesaid counties, will undertake the distribution, I will give him the ears for the purpose, and a *Twopenny Trash* (containing the instructions) along with each ear of corn. I SELL THE CORN AT MY SHOP IN BOLT-COURT, AT 1s. A BUNCH OF FINE EARS, SIX IN NUMBER; and the Book, on the cultivation and uses of it, at 2s. 6d.; which is called a *TREATISE ON COB-BETT'S CORN*.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,  
FRIDAY, APRIL 29, 1831.

#### INSOLVENTS.

BARBER, J., Manchester, manufacturer.  
TOMS, J., Kensington, grocer.

#### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

PEACOCK, J., Blackfriars-road, grocer.  
ROUTLEDGE, J., J., New Bond-street, haberdasher.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BERTHON, B., Kingsland-road, coal-mercht.  
BLACKALL, J., & M.B. FILBY, Langbourn-chambers, Fenchurch-street, ship-brokers.  
BROMBY, W. C., Sculcoates and Kingston-upon-Hull, wharfinger.  
BROWNING, H., Cambridge, inn-keeper.  
BUSH, T., Beeston, Nottinghamshire, lace-manufacturer.  
CAMPAIN, W., Deverell-street, Dover-rd., linen-draper.  
CROSSLEY, J. M., Manchester, upholsterer.  
FINNEY, J., Charlotte-street, Portland-pl., merchant.  
HOOPER, T., Hazelbury Bryan, Dorsetshire, baker.  
JACKSON, G. E., Birmingham, dealer in iron.  
JONES, H., New Sarum, Wiltshire, waggon-proprietor.  
KERBY, J., Leicester, and J. R. Kerby, Goldsmith-st., Wood-st., Cheapside, hosiers.  
LYON, S., Plymouth, silversmith.  
PAXTON, J., the younger, late of Berwick-upon-Tweed, linen-draper.  
RICKETTS, J. B., Leadenhall-street, mercht.  
SANDERSON, F., Great Ayton, Yorkshire, shoe-maker.  
SHEPHERD, J., Liverpool, stone-mason.  
SMALLEY, J., Arnold, Nottinghamsh, builder.  
SMITH, W., Liverpool, grocer.  
TATCHELL, T., Snow-hill, tavern-keeper.  
TITTENSOR, C. W., Little Love-lane, button-seller.  
TOPHAM, B. G., New-road St. Mary-le-bone, victualler.  
WAKLEY, W., Langport, Somersetshire, ironmonger.  
WEBSTER, C., jun., Manchester, currier.  
WESTRUP, W., Melton, Suffolk, miller.

TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1831.

BAYLY, E., and R. Smart, Basinghall-street, warehousemen.  
KING, J., Bath, victualler.  
LYON, J. W., Macclesfield-street, North and Dalby-terrace, City-road, brewer.  
RICHARDSON, G., Derby, wharfinger.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BEDDOME, J., Manchester, drysalter.  
BURTON, F. C., High Holborn, glass-cutter.  
COULTHARD, W., Brocklebank, Cumberland, cattle-dealer.  
DOVE, M., Maidstone, grocer.  
GREIG, A. M., Crewkerne, Somersetshire, wine-merchant.  
HENTON, W., Nottingham, grocer.  
JOHNSTON, J., & T. Hannah, Leeds, drapers.

JONES, R., Cornhill, hosier.  
 OSBORNE, J., jun., Epperstone, Nottinghamshire, surgeon.  
 PALFREYMAN, C., Manchester, and Crag, Cheshire, calico-printer.  
 POTTER, C. & E., & S. ROBERTS, Manchester, & Dinting, Derbyshire, calico-printers.  
 POTTER, J., Manchester, and W. Maude, Darwen, Lancashire, calico-printers.  
 SANDERS, J., Launceston, Cornwall, tallow-chandler.  
 WHITE, J., Higham, Derbyshire, Chandler.

### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 2.—Supplies have been, since this day se'nnight, of English wheat, barley, oats, peas, and English and foreign seeds, very limited; of English malt, beans, and English, Irish, and foreign flour, moderately good; of foreign wheat and barley, and Irish and foreign oats rather great. In the early part of this day's market, a few small parcels of fine white wheat and very fine barley were sold at the prices of this day se'nnight; but the assemblage of buyers not being very numerous, the trade was throughout very dull. With wheat and barley generally at a depression of from 1s. to 2s., peas, 3s. to 6s. per quarter, with oats, beans, rye, malt, and flour at last Monday's quotations. In the seed trade but little is doing, and that little at considerably depressed prices.

Wheat .....	60s. to 70s.
Rye .....	36s. to 42s.
Barley .....	28s. to 33s.
— fine .....	34s. to 44s.
Peas, White .....	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers .....	37s. to 42s.
— Grey .....	33s. to 36s.
Beans, Small .....	40s. to 48s.
— Tick .....	36s. to 44s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	27s. to 34s.
— Poland .....	27s. to 31s.
— Feed .....	24s. to 29s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.

### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 50s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 44s. to 45s.
Pork, India, new... 118s. 6d. to —s. 6d.
Pork, Mess, new... 63s. to 65s. 0d. per barl.
Butter, Belfast .... 76s. 86s. per cwt.
— Carlow ..... 72s. to 88s.
— Cork ..... 80s. to 86s.
— Limerick .. 84s. to 86s.
— Waterford 74s. to 82s.
— Dublin .... —s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire .... 50s. to 80s.
— Gloucester, Double.. 54s. to 66s.
— Gloucester, Single... 38s. to 42s.
— Edam ..... 46s. to 50s.
— Gouda ..... 44s. to 48s.
Hams, Irish..... 50s. to 60s.

### SMITHFIELD—May 2.

This day's supply was, throughout, very limited, and the trade, owing to considerably advanced prices being demanded, with each kind of meat very dull. Beef going off tardily at any advance of from 4d. to 8d.; mutton, 4d. per stone; lamb, veal, and pork at Friday's quotations. Beasts, 2,261; sheep and lambs, 13,280; calves, 130; pigs, 160.

### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	78½	78½	79	79½	80	80½

### MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 6.

The supplies this week are pretty good. The best samples maintain Monday's prices, all other sorts are cheaper.

**THE GENERAL ELECTION.**—At this exciting and momentous crisis, when the preservation of the country from the horrors of anarchy depends on the return of honest members, pledged to support the ministerial measure of reform, it is absolutely requisite that the character of all the members of the late Parliament should be fully disclosed to the public, that the knowledge thence afforded may direct and ensure a proper choice. This information is supplied in the **PEOPLE'S BOOK**, which with an introductory sketch of Parliamentary History, contains a complete Analysis of the late House of Commons, the principles, connexions, relationship, and parliamentary conduct of the members of which it was composed, the owners of the nomination boroughs, the prevailing interest in open boroughs, and in counties, and, in short, a complete epitome of the representative system and condition of the United Kingdom. A certain guide is thus afforded in the present choice of representatives, as well as a political manual, valuable in itself as a perfect and authentic record of Parliamentary History. By W. CARPENTER, Author of "*The Political Letters*."

"We recommend this book to our readers who wish to have some notion of the various modes in which the public is plundered. The Church and the Aristocracy are exposed in all their naked deformity."—*Dublin Freeman's Journal*.

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